Conſcience Satisfied:

IN

A Cordial and Loyal Submitting to the Preſent GOVERNMENT of

King WILLIAM

AND

Queen MARY,

In Three Diſcourſes: Juſtifying the *Williamites* againſt the *Jacobites.*

The firſt being Animadverſions on a Book intituled, *The Doctrine of Non-Reſiſtance* or *Paſſive Obedience no way concerned in the Controverſies now depending between the* Williamites *and the* Jacobites.

The ſecond on 1 *Sam.* 23. 30. *Then ſaid* David, *Will the men of* Keilah *deliver me and my men into the hands of* Saul? *And the Lord ſaid, They will deliver thee up.*

The third on *Dan.* 5. 20. *But when his heart was lifted up, and his mind hardened in Pride, he was depoſed from his Throne, and they took his glory from him.*

By *TIM. WILSON*, Rector of *Kingſnoth* in *Kent.*

Licenſed and Entred according to Order.

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To the Impartial Reader.

Reader,

THE *Juſtification of my own Actions in this preſent Revolution ingages me, and the love of Truth conſtrains me to this Task. What I have done, upon the ſtricteſt Examination of my own heart, I have done with a pure Conſcience, and with juſt abhorrence of Popery and Slavery, And I am ready to Anſwer all Objections that may be made againſt thoſe Principles of Government, and unmoveable Foundations which I have laid. I aſſert nothing but what agrees with the Reaſon of Man, with the Word of God, and with the Practice of all Ages in like Exigents. I give to* Cæſar *the things that are* Cæſars, *and to God the things that are Gods; and I alſo juſtifie the Liberty of my Native Countrey. And this occaſioned me to make Reflexions upon the Diſcourſe of this Gentleman. For my own part, I deſire to Fear God with the moſt Devout; I Honour King* William *and Queen* Mary *with the foremoſt, and I love the Liberty of an Engliſhman with my whole Soul. I confeſs, I was zealous againſt*

Reading the Declaration of the late King in Churches.

First, *Becauſe it was Illegal, and ſeem'd to me to own Arbitrary Government, and the Diſpenſing Powers.*

Secondly, *Becauſe it evidently conduced to the Change of the eſtabliſh'd Proteſtant Religion, and the Introduction of Popery as the National Worſhip. But I was then, and am now for the Eaſe of Tender Conſciences: only I would have all done Orderly by the Legiſlative Power of the Nation; that is, by King, Lords, and Commons.*

Now as for this Gentleman, I have plainly ſhewn his Miſtakes about Conqueſt; about God's Providence; about the Lawfulneſs of Defenſive Arms, &c.

I ſubmit the whole to thee, Chriſtian Reader, Lay aſide Prejudice, Conſider exactly, Judge impartially, and God be with us all.

A Juſtification

OF

The Williamites.

I Cannot but greatly approve the Deſign of this Gentleman, which ſeems to be the Glory of God, in aſſerting his Providence about diſpoſing Kingdoms; the Honour of King *William*, in making him a lawful Prince; the Peace of the Nation, in perſwading the *Jacobites* to Submiſſion; the Preſerving the Reputation of the Church of *England*, in allaying the heats and animoſities of the *Williamites*, &c.

And I will not accuſe him of luke-warmneſs, in neither aſſiſting, nor reſiſting the late King; becauſe he that is not againſt us, is on our ſide, in ſome ſenſe. And this was the caſe of Hundreds in *England*, who could not ſound the depth of theſe Doctrines, and did not trouble themſelves about *Paſſive Obedience*.

And no doubt, many will commend him for his Prudence and calm temper, in ſtanding by unconcerned, and obſerving which ſide would have Succeſs. But if all Men had been as wiſe as this Gent. or as ſubtle, I fear we ſhould have been over-run by Popery and Arbitrary Power before this day. For who ſhould help us? not this Gent. nor any of his Perſwaſion; becauſe he muſt in no caſe reſiſt. Who ſhould then invite the Prince of *Orange* over, and Promiſe him Aſſiſtance? Let Fools and Rebels do that, this Gent. hath more wit, and is bound in Conſcience to be Paſſive. Prayers and Tears are his only Weapons. And I make no doubt (for truly I believe him to be a devout Man) but he

he prayed to God for Deliverance: But when the Deliverer came, joyn with him who will be him, he muſt not aſſiſt, nor reſiſt. Now in all others caſes, Divines call this a Tempting of God.

But let us ſee particularly wherein we agree, and wherein we differ.

Firſt, It is agreed, That the Prince of *Orange*, (now our Gracious Soveraign) had juſt Cauſe to make War upon *James* the Second, *P.* 5. And if he had a juſt Cauſe (I will not ſay to invade us, or the injurious Prince, as this Gent. ſaith, but) to right himſelf, and come over and help us to right, then ſurely our cauſe was juſt alſo, and it could be no Sin, but a Virtue to joyn with him againſt our Common Enemies.

Secondly, It is agreed, That this Prince was no Subject to King *James*, nor to any other Prince, and conſequently was no Rebel, *P.* 5. And if He could not have Right without Force, He might lawfully compel him by force to do what He ought to have done without it, but would not.

Thirdly, The Author very ſenſibly and pathetically repreſents the Tyranny, Oppreſſion, and Grievances of the Nation. He ſaith, *P.* 5. All Proteſtants grant the late King's deſign was certainly to Extirpate the Proteſtant Religion; to Inſlave, and conſequently to Extirpate the Engliſh Nation. And *P.* 16. He Perſecuted that Church he Promiſed and was bound to Protect, and did not treat us like Engliſhmen, but like Slaves. And *P.* 18. It may ſuffice to ſay in general, Never any of our Princes ſo openly attempted the Ruin of an Eſtabliſhed Religion, or by more Illegal Courſes than He. Nor Law, nor Oaths, nor Promiſes, nor Gratitude could reſtrain Him. He broke thorough all the Barriers God and Man had put in his way, and ſeemed reſolved to ruin us, or himſelf, *&c.* And *Pag.* 23. All his Solemn Promiſes were eaſily broken, or rather never intended to be kept at the very time they were made, and all thoſe He hath ſince made have been violated in *Ireland*, where only He had Power to keep or break his word, *&c.*

Fourthly, It is agreed, That the Doctrine of the Lawfulneſs of defenſive Arms is not proper at all ſeaſons, or may be an unſeaſonable Diſpute, *P.* 2. And that very great Caution muſt be uſed, leſt the People Rebel; and it is a ſign of a crazy Nation, when the

the Fundamentals of Government muſt be laid open. But yet if it be a truth, in extreme Neceſſity, it muſt be manifeſted to ſatisfie mens Conſciences. And this Gentleman confeſſes, *P.* 1. That the Doctrine of Paſſive Obedience was indeed dangerous to them, (that is, Their preſent Majeſties) when He firſt entered *England*; becauſe all that believed themſelves bound by it, were obliged not to take up Arms for Him againſt King *James*, and ſo conſequently it deprived Him of their Aſſiſtance: and for this reaſon I conclude (if it be falſe, as I have elſewhere demonſtrated) it ought to be extirpated out of the World.

Fifthly, It is Agreed, That they that believe *Paſſive Obedience*, were not thereby bound to Aſſert the Miſgovernment of *James* the Second. Becauſe tho' they are to juſtifie His Authority, yet they muſt not His Crimes.

Sixthly, As for Deſertion, I need not meddle with it; be it as he ſaith, *P.* 6.

Let us now ſee wherein we differ.

Firſt, I have with ſome Impatience (to uſe this Gentleman's words in the beginning) read the Scandalous Reflections that He makes upon thoſe who have of late oppoſed *Paſſive Obedience*, and juſtified Defenſive Arms in ſome Caſe: without which we had been all Slaves. His Deſign in this Diſcourſe (he ſays) is to put an end, as far as he can, to this unſeaſonable Diſpute; *P.* 2. and yet he juſtifies *Paſſive Obedience* at a very high Rate; as if a Man could not be a Son of the Church of *England*, yea, ſcarce a good Chriſtian that denies it. And he loads it with this Odium, *P.* 2. *They can be no Friends to Government in General, nor to Him,* (that is, *K.* W.) *or His, in Particular, who are ſo Zealous to have the Doctrine of* Nonreſiſtance *Extirpated out of the World.* And he charges us with this ridiculous Conſequence, That *it is Lawful for every man to Rebel againſt his Lawful Prince, whenever he thinks it neceſſary.*

Anſw. This is a foul Aſperſion. We ſay the Cauſe muſt be real, plain and evident. And in this preſent Caſe, ſuppoſing Defenſive Arms lawful, I deſire no better Advocate or Orator to repreſent our Grievances than this Gent. See *P.* 5, 8, 16, 18, 23. And yet I ſuppoſe few Men accuſe him of *Irreverence* to *Crowned Heads*, as the Phraſe is: Tho' a man that oppoſes *Paſſive Obedience*, would be invidiouſly declaimed againſt for half ſo much. But we know

know that St. *Paul*, ſpeaking of the Emperor's Perſecution, calls him *a Lion*, the moſt fierce and cruel of Beaſts: But at another time, owning his Authority, and in reſpect of that, (to uſe the words of a Learned and Eloquent Presbyter, of my Acquaintance) His Chriſtianity allows him as high Complements to King *Agrippa*, *Acts* 26. 2, 3. With great deference to his Authority and Knowledge, nay, and to his Honour and Goodneſs, tho' a Heathen, or little better, and otherwiſe very obnoxious. But becauſe we are ſo often charged, as if we did not give due Honour to Kings, give me leave to illuſtrate our Caſe in no very long Speech.

Great Sir, We are your Majeſties moſt humble and moſt dutiful Servants and Subjects, we look upon our ſelves as bound in Conſcience to hazard our Lives and Fortunes in the Preſervation of your Majeſties Perſon, Crown, and Dignity, and of our Religion, Liberty, and Property. But we fear that Evil Counſellors move your Majeſty againſt us, and endeavour Innovations, and our Ruin by Illegal Courſes. It is a great Grief and Sorrow of heart to us to ſee theſe Evils, and in all Humility upon our Knees, we beſeech your Majeſty to Redreſs our Grievances: But if your Majeſty is reſolved to perſiſt in theſe miſchievous Courſes, as we humbly conceive, we believe we may with a good Conſcience defend our ſelves, and not offend God and his Laws. The King perhaps may wax hot with anger, and call us Factious, Seditious, Rebels, and caſt us into Priſon, *&c.*

Then comes another ſort of the King's Subjects, Dread Soveraign, *We your Majeſties moſt faithful Subjects and Servants, without any Reſerve, will ſtand by your Majeſty againſt all Enemies whatſoever; and we eſteem it our bounden Duty Actively to obey all your Commands, that are not contrary to the Word of God, and our Religion, and when they are, Paſſively to ſubmit to your Majeſties Pleaſure under our Oppreſſions, and never to Reſiſt.*

The King truſts theſe Men; is exceedingly pleaſed with their great Expreſſions of Loyalty; Honours them, makes them his Confidents, takes them into his Councels; rewards them with great Preferments in Church and State.

Not long after, the King is in great Fear and Diſtreſs by reaſon of Enemies. He ſets forth a Proclamation to all his Loving Subjects to aſſiſt Him, and Repel the Force of the *Invader*, and his Rebellious Subjects, who joyn with him.

They

They return this Anſwer. *Great Sir, Our Lives are at your Majeſties Service, but we have many Grievances firſt to be redreſſed, and we ſee your Majeſty is reſolved on theſe illegal Exorbitant Courſes,* p. 8. *and therefore we are not to be blamed, tho' we withdraw from your Service:* And the beſt of the Primitive Chriſtians would have done the ſame thing, if it had been their Lot to have faln under ſuch a Prince. *We deny that we your Majeſties Subjects are bound to ſtand by you, and fight for you,* p. 7. *For your Majeſty hath notoriouſly invaded and deſtroyed all our Civil and Religious Rights and Liberties, and deſigned the Ruin and Deſtruction both of them and us, and would give us no aſſurance we could rely on, to do otherwiſe for the future. And therefore if it be unlawful to Reſiſt, it is alſo as unlawful to Aſſiſt and Enable your Majeſty to deſtroy the true Religion, the Engliſh Liberties and Immunities; nay, the very Nation.*

I dare ſwear, if the late K. were made Judge, He would ſay, the firſt ſort of Subjects were honeſt, plain-dealing, true-hearted Men, and if He had hearkened to their Counſel, both He and His Subjects might have been happy. But what He would ſay of the other ſort of Subjects, I cannot tell, tho' I can ſhrewdly gueſs. And Now I hope they will never tell us more of being irreverent to Crowned Heads.

Adam got Fig-leaves to hide his Nakedneſs: and the Sons of *Adam* are too like him, and love to hide their Sins, rather than confeſs them. But what a Juggle is this? God forbid that I ſhould ſtretch forth my hand againſt the Lord's anointed; but if my Neighbour will, tho' I have ſtrength enough, I will not oppoſe him, I am not bound to aſſiſt the Lord's Anointed: for He will not call a Free and Legal Parliament, and redreſs our Grievances, *P.* 2. & 6. and elſewhere. If this be the Doctrine of *Paſſive Obedience*, I dare ſay every wiſe Prince (as ſoon as he underſtands it) will root it out of his Dominions, by not truſting ſuch men. If I reſiſt, I am damned: if I aſſiſt, our Religion and our Nation is ruined. I never taught *Active Obedience* to the lawful Commands of the King, (if I did, I have forgotten it) tho' I taught *Paſſive Obedience*, when he commanded illegally. And therefore if Cut-throats with a barbarous Aſſaſſination will Murther the King, I will ſtand by, and ſee them, and waſh mine hands in Innocency when I have done, becauſe the King would not call a Free Parliament, when I thought it neceſſary. I perceive, that tho' this Gentleman would

not Subſcribe the Aſſociation with *David*'s Confederates, and take up defenſive Arms againſt *Saul*'s Tyranny and Oppreſſion; yet if *Saul* would not Redreſs Grievances, when he thought it neceſſary, if *Abiſhai* would kill King *Saul*, he might for him, he is not bound to aſſiſt: It is God's Providence, who pulls down one, and ſets up another. Doth not God and Man abhor ſuch Sophiſtry and Colluſion? Well fare *Paſſive Obedience*: it deſerves contempt and ſcorn, and to be rooted out of the world, if this be it. And Good men will make it their buſineſs to ridicule and confute it, *P.* 37. for this is one of the worſt and moſt exploded Doctrins of the whole World, *P.* 35. I am ſorry he gives ſuch advice (as I cannot hearken to) to ſpeak modeſtly of it, eſpecially as he hath repreſented it, *P.* the laſt. And indeed *Paſſive Obedience* began to be ridicul'd and exploded by divers of the Clergy and Laity, in my hearing, ſome Months before we dreamed of the Prince of *Orange*'s coming to deliver us from our cruel Task-maſters, the Jeſuits and Evil Councellors, being convinced of this Error, and the many Miſchiefs thereof, by ſence and experience, the Miſtriſs of Fools, according to the Proverb, as this Gentleman ſaith, *P.* 22. And now (I dare ſay, without tranſgreſſing that Rule of Chriſtianity of not rendring railing for railing) we are even with this Gentleman for calling us Rebels, and inferring this abſurd Conſequence from our Doctrine, That *it is Lawful for every man to rebel againſt his Lawful Prince, whenever he thinks it neceſſary.*

Object. *But if Defenſive Arms are Lawful, who ſhall be Judge when we are oppreſſed?*

Anſw. In our Caſe this Gentleman hath already determined for us, that never any Nation was more oppreſſed. And if any man will not ſtand to his Determination, he muſt, I think be wilfully blind. However there is no Judge but right Reaſon; for, what hath God made us reaſonable Creatures, but to Judge between Good and Evil? *Why even of your ſelves judge ye not what is right?* is our Saviour's queſtion, *Luk.* 12. 57. But indeed great and univerſal oppreſſion is commonly a thing ſenſible, of which our Senſes may be Judges. We who juſtifie Defenſive Arms in ſome Caſe, are as zealous for Government in General, and for Monarchy and the Engliſh Government, and for King *William* in particular, as this Gent. For we have ventured Lives and Fortunes with Him, which the Author confeſſes he hath not. And at the

rate

rate that he Writes, all the Subjects of *England* or *Scotland*, who came over in Arms with King *William*, are Rebels; all that Joyned with Him; all that Prayed for his Good Succeſs; all the Proteſtants who defended themſelves in *Ireland*, eſpecially Mr. *Walker*, and the *London-Derry Proteſtants*, are all Damned Rebels, becauſe they were Subjects, and ought not in any Caſe to reſiſt the late King. And is this the manner of Man, O Lord God? as he ſaith. But let this Gent. know, that the Innocent, (I mean the Legally Innocent) may defend themſelves by the Law of Nature, and this is written in his, and every mans heart. And he ſaith, *P.* 1. The contrary Doctrine was dangerous to the Prince of *Orange* at his firſt Landing. And indeed if half the People had believed *Paſſive Obedience*, as moſt of the Clergy taught, and moſt of the Army ſeemed to believe, He might have loſt his Head by venturing to Save us. But bleſſed be God, Engliſhmen would not be frighted out of their ſenſes by a cauſeleſs Curſe from ſome weak Prophets, or full of prejudice. And how any man could declare too ſoon for the Prince of *Orange*, his now Majeſty, and ſo forget his Duty as he ſaith, *P.* 3. is a Myſtery that I would have this Gent. unfold. If his Cauſe was good and juſt, as this Author acknowledgeth, who could declare too ſoon for him? *Paſſive Obedience* deſerves to be rooted out of the World, if for no other reaſon, yet for this, becauſe it hath blinded this honeſt Gentleman, that he cannot ſpeak well of his beſt Friends; I mean of thoſe who have been Inſtruments of his Deliverance from that Infatuated Monarch, as he writes, under whoſe Government he dreads to live again. I hope we have no Court-Paraſites, and Flatterers, who follow the old Maxim, *Oblige your Enemies, Neglect and ſlight your Friends.* Curſed be ſuch Policy. I confeſs I am for forgiving Enemies, and encouraging the Penitent: I hate Cruelty, or Severity, eſpecially conſidering ſo many miſled Souls as we have had in *England.* May the King's Throne be Eſtabliſhed in Righteouſneſs, and may Mercy and Truth preſerve the King: But let not thoſe, who have cheerfully ſpent their ſtrength in this Cauſe be ſlighted, or expoſed to the Malice of their Enemies.

Object. *Chriſt, and his Apoſtles, and the Primitive Chriſtians did not reſiſt the Heathen* Roman *Perſecuting Emperors.* And this was true Doctrine in *Tertullian*'s time (*Apol.* 1. *Cap.* 37.) as he

quotes, *Pag.* 10. *If we Chriſtians would become your publick and declared Enemies, or ſecret Revengers of our own Wrongs, (ſhould we want Force and Number to ſupport it?) We exceed the* Moors, *the* Marcomans, *and the* Parthians, *or any other one ſingle Nation in the whole World; we are but of Yeſterday, and yet we have filled all your Places, your Cities, your Iſlands, Caſtles, Corporations, Councels, Tribes, Companies, Palace, Senate, and* Forum *or Market-Place: and we have left you nothing to Enjoy alone, but your Temples; Now we who ſo willingly lay down our Lives, are we not thereby fitted and prepared, do you think, to manage any War, tho' we were very much inferiour in Number, if our Religion did not oblige us, rather to ſuffer Death than to Inflict it? We might without Arms or Reſiſtance, barely by diſagreeing with you, and the Envy of a Separation, very much endanger and diſquiet you; for if ſo great a part of the Empire, as we now make, ſhould break it ſelf off from the reſt; and retire into any remote Corner of the World, it would certainly confound your Dominions, to loſe ſo many Subjects, be their quality what it will; yea, our very departure from you would be a ſevere Puniſhment; the Deſolation and Silence we ſhould leave behind us, would ſtrike you with an Horror and Amazement, as if the World were expiring; you would be forced to ſeek for new Subjects to ſupply our places; and perhaps we ſhould leave you more Enemies than Subjects or Defenders.* This place hath been often cited to prove the Doctrine of *Paſſive Obedience*; and in truth it is a Noble Teſtimony, of the Faith and Patience of thoſe Saints.

Anſw. The Laws of the Empire were againſt them: Now Chriſt came not to deſtroy or alter Political Government, but left, it, as he found it. And he ſent his Apoſtles to reform the world, to turn men from darkneſs to light, and from the Power of Satan unto God: And accordingly their Weapons were not Carnal, but Spiritual. They did not, like *Mahomet* and his Followers, Conquer the World by force of Arms, but did Convince and Convert *Jews* and *Gentiles* by working Miracles, by the Sword of the Spirit, by the Word of God, and by Reaſon, Diſputation, and Argument. But this is not our Caſe. I will ſtate the Caſe; Suppoſe a whole Nation Chriſtian, and the true Religion fixed by Law, ſo that it is our Birthright and Property, as it were, and we have a Legal and Civil Right, or Human Right as well as a Divine to our Religion, and yet this is evidently Invaded by Evil Councellors

lors about the King, and he is drawn to destroy Religion. If this Gentleman can shew any Primitive Christian, or ancient Father and Doctor of the Church, who saith in this Case it is not Lawful to Defend our Religion, Laws, Liberties, and Properties, I yield the Cause. Otherwise we grant all his Examples and Instances, as nothing to our purpose. They shew indeed the Peaceableness, Meekness, Humility, Patience, and Faith of those Primitive Christians, their Zeal and Affection for the Happiness of the Empire, and their Submission to the Government, Laws and Usages of their Country, and to their Superiours in their most rigorous Execution of them, to the destruction of them and their Religion, which is called the Abuse of Power, and Legal Tyranny, in which case we also own *Passive Obedience*.

Secondly, I differ from this Gent. about Conquest. He would have King *William* a Conqueror, tho' He claims not by it. And so tho he was none of them that did, or durst have resisted or rebelled against King *James*, yet after his Desertion, he forsook him, *P.* 13.

Answ. If the Prince of *Orange* had designed an Invasion and Conquest, as this Gent. calls it, both he and we had been bound in Conscience to Oppose him, because there is a Loyalty to our Country, as well as to our King. And Invasion and Conquest are dismal things, as well as shameful. But blessed be God, He came not as the Enemy of our Country, but as our Friend; as our *Joshua*, our Saviour; to deliver us from *Popery* and *Slavery*. He ventured his Life to save us from Oppression, not to Conquer us. Besides, if he conquered King *James*, and this Gentleman, He did not Conquer those that joyned with him, which were by far the greatest part of the Nation. I am sure in our County multitudes Subscribed the *Association*, to stand by the *Cause* with their *Lives* and *Fortunes*, not to *Enslave* themselves by Conquest. And then it followed, That they humbly desired the Prince of *Orange* to take the *Government* upon him, and *Circular Letters* were issued out for a *Convention*; and that *Convention* (or Parliament) Elected him *King*, and the Princess *Queen*, and He accepted it as a *Trust*: (and all Government is a Trust, and founded in Covenant, as I have elsewhere proved) and then we honoured Him, and prayed for Him as our King. According to those Exhortations in Scripture, which order us to *Fear God and the King*, Prov. 24. 21. *to*

be

be ſubject to the higher Powers, which are of God, Rom. 13. 1. and to pray *for Kings, and all in Authority, that under them we may lead a peaceable and quiet life in all Godlineſs and honeſty,* 1 Tim. 2. 1. & 2. All which are as much now due to Their preſent Majeſties, as to any that ever ſat on the Throne.

It is true, by His Affection to our Nation, and Zeal for our Religion and Liberties, he conquered our Hearts, and will for ever reign there, and He merits our Lives and Fortunes: but it is not for the Honour of our Nation to ſay, *He Conquered us.* And indeed 14000 Men cannot ſubdue *England* by force, which is properly Conqueſt. We received him as ſent from God, with hearts full of joy, and with chearful countenances. And were it not for that Doctrine of *Paſſive Obedience* in its vaſt extent, (with which many devout Chriſtians, and many Learned, Pious, and great Biſhops and Doctors, through prejudice were poſſeſſed, I will not ſay infected) the whole Nation had ſounded with Songs of Triumph and our Churches and Pulpits with Praiſes and Hallelujahs, as if we had had Heaven upon Earth. So great was the Mercy of our God in delivering us and our Poſterity from Popiſh Ignorance, Error, Superſtition, and Idolatry, and reſtoring our Laws and Liberties! For my own part, I was tranſported with joy, and I care not, if all the world ſaith, as ſome ſaid in *Hoſeæ* his time, *c. 9. v. 7. The Prophet is a Fool, the ſpiritual Man is Mad.* But ſurely in truth and reaſon, they are Fools and Madmen, that reject ſo great Deliverance and Salvation out of fondneſs to a ſilly Opinion. There need no Eloquence, (if I could uſe it) our great Fears and imminent Dangers are Oratory ſufficient, Popiſh Judges, Popiſh Officers in the Army, Popiſh Prieſts and Jeſuits at Court, Popiſh Heads of Colleges in the Univerſity, Popiſh Juſtices of the Peace, Mayors, *&c.* with the *Diſpenſing Power*, might well affright us. And tho' we perhaps might have ſpun out a ſlaviſh life without great Perſecution, yet our Children could expect nothing but *French* Dragoons and Torture, or voluntary Exile, if not the *Marian* days of Fire and Faggot. But as for thoſe who plead Conqueſt for the King, they know not what they do in making this Plea, as a Learned Man ſpeaks. For if there were no other right, neither Precedent, nor conſequent, but meerly becauſe ſuch an one was ſtronger and got it, and ſo holds it now; then whoſoever is ſtrongeſt at any time he hath right, and if a ſtronger than he comes,

comes, he ſhall have right. This is no good Divinity, nor Policy to Plead thus. That which ſubjects my Conſcience to ſuch an one, is Submiſſion upon ſome Compact, Covenant, or Agreement. Beſides, this ſort of Men, by flattering Monarchs, and deluding the People, with crying out, *The King, the King*; have wholly forgotten the very Heathens Leſſon, *It is ſweet and comely to Die for our Country*, that is, our Laws, Liberty, Property, *&c.* I muſt confeſs, Conqueſt makes way for Subjection, as it did in *Cæſar* over the *Jews*: but I hope no man will ſay this is our caſe: nor do they do their King or Country any Service, who put the Controverſie upon this Iſſue.

Thirdly, I muſt conſider what this Gentleman ſaith about God's Providence in diſpoſing Kingdoms. And here I muſt needs ſay, that he is honeſt in the main, but he hath not read and digeſted Divinity enough to handle this ſubject, and therefore he is very confuſed. And I will not arrogate ſo much to my ſelf, as to ſay, I have ſounded this depth, which hath coſt me ſome years ſtudy, and yet I muſt admire (for I am ignorant or unſatisfied about many things concerning) God's Providence. I will not at this time ingage in the Controverſie between the Remonſtrants, and Contra-Remonſtrants. God's Providence, and Man's free acting are not inconſiſtent, that is certain. How they concur is moſt myſterious, and the Higheſt Point in School-Divinity. And I may ſafely ſay, that it is above my ſtrength to cut aſunder, or my wit to untie this knot. But it is mine, and every mans Duty, to do God's Will, and ſubmit to his Pleaſure, who doth whatſoever pleaſeth him in Heaven, and in Earth, in the Seas, and all deep places. However I beg leave of the Learned and Judicious to make a favourable Interpretation of my deſign upon this abſtruſe ſubject.

Firſt, It is certain, and agreed upon by the *Calviniſts*, and *Arminians*, that God is not Author of Sin. He is the Author of the Evil of Puniſhment, but not of the Evil of Sin, *Amos* 3. 6.

Secondly, God permits many things, which he doth not approve; as the Perſecution of good men for righteouſneſs ſake.

Thirdly, God in his Providence, for the wickedneſs of a people, or for their probation and trial, may ſuffer his Church to fall into the hands of Tyrants and Oppreſſors, and to be carried Captive, or to be Exiles.

Fourthly,

Fourthly, Tho' ſuch wicked Inſtruments as Tyrants ſin greatly in their Pride, Cruelty, and Oppreſſion of God's own Inheritance, yet in his Providence he may make uſe of them, as Scourges and Rods to puniſh the wicked, and chaſtiſe the good, for their trial, as the exerciſe of their Faith, Patience, Humility, *&c.*

Fifthly, God in his Providence may, and ſometimes doth create Deliverance for his People in an unexpected manner. And we may well ſay of this great Deliverance of our Nation, *This is the Lords doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes*, Pſal. 118. 23. So much for God's Providence.

Now I muſt diſtinguiſh about Governours; which this Gent. doth not. Governours are either Lawful Princes, or Uſurpers.

Firſt, A lawful King is he, who hath a true Title to the Throne, either by Succeſſion, or Election.

Secondly, An Uſurper is he who hath gotten Poſſeſſion, but hath no right. This latter is by God's Permiſſion. This Uſurpers have; for God ſuffers them to rule: and ſome call this a Providential Right, very incongruouſly. For this gives no juſt Title, and conſequently there is no Subjection due. The vileſt perſon may have this, in Judgment to a Nation, (as one ſpeaks) on purpoſe to try them, that ſo by ſuch unlawful Subjection, that Nation may fill up the meaſure of their Iniquities, and God may deſtroy both them, and their Governours: of which there are many dreadful Examples in Hiſtory.

This Gent. is very confuſed. He ſaith, That the Primitive Chriſtians never regarded the Right, Title, or the Claim of Princes and Emperors. And by this ſeems to own *Oliver Cromwel*, as well as any Lawful King. And he makes no Diſtinction between a Lawful King, and an Uſurper.

I muſt confeſs, the Hiſtory of the Primitive Chriſtians about Governours is very imperfect. (Becauſe they minded Religion more than Political Government, and an Heavenly Kingdom more than an Earthly.) But it will be very hard for this Gent. to prove, That the Primitive Chriſtians owned any Emperor, that was not firſt own'd by the Senate, and People of *Rome*. In times of Confuſion, many things are ſuffered or indured, which are not approved. And when the Empire was in Diſtraction, through Emulation of men aſpiring to the Throne, both the Chriſtians, and the Senate, and the People of *Rome* might not know what to

do

do in Prudence, or what courſe to take, as well as this Gentleman in our late Confuſions, and yet not be blame-worthy, nor own an Uſurper.

And it is a Caſe of Conſcience of great concernment ſometimes, How far we may live quietly under an Uſurper.

Firſt, No man is bound in Conſcience to tell an Uſurper that he is ſo, no more than he is bound to tell a Thief upon the High-way that he is a Rogue.

Secondly, Any man may with a good Conſcience take upon him the Office of a Judge, or any other Legal Truſt, or a Preacher of God's Word, in time of Confuſion under an Uſurper, provided he owns not his Authority, nor Swears Allegiance as to a Lawful Prince. Becauſe Government muſt be, and Good Laws may be put in Execution in any time of Confuſion, and ſomebody muſt do theſe things. In ſhort, in my opinion, a Conſcientious man, living under an Uſurper, may do whatſoever conduceth to Order, Natural Right, Publick Good and Juſtice, and the Preſervation of the true worſhip of God, without owning his Authority. But this I am ſure is very unſeaſonable, and I almoſt tremble to ſay this little about it at this time, for fear of giving Scandal. But I think my ſelf able to prove againſt any man, that King *William* and Queen *Mary*, by the Election of the People (in Convention) have as true a Title, as ever any Prince had. And if this Gent. can prove what he ſaith, *P.* 10. with all my heart be it done, I muſt out of awful fear and reverence ſay nothing of it more. I hope by God's grace I ſhall ever render *fear to whom fear, honour to whom honour*, Rom. 13. 7.

Thirdly, Every man is bound (tho' not unſeaſonably, raſhly, and furiouſly, when there is no probability of good Succeſs) to indeavour that the right Governour be placed on the Throne. As for inſtance, when *O. C.* had poſſeſſion, all the true Sons of the Church of *England*, and many of our *Presbyterian* Brethren, to my knowledge never owned his Authority, but were very zealous, and heartily prayed for the Reſtauration of the King and Royal Family. And they thought it their Duty, when they could not actively ſerve and obey the King, to ſuffer with him, and lye at the Mercy of the Uſurper, till God ſhould pardon the Sins of the Nation, and ſend Deliverance.

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Now, as this Gentleman writes, *P.* 13. 'Did God give the Empire of the World to *Nero*, to *Domitian*, to *Julian* the Apoſtate, 'all Uſurpers, and ſome of them Murderers of their Predeceſſors? 'nay, to *Marius*, who was the very Image of *O. C.*? And hath he 'not ſince that done any thing of that Nature? Did not he that 'gave the Kingdom of *England* to King *James*, give it alſo to 'King *William*?

Here he ſeems to own *O. C.* as much as King *William*, I hope he means not ſo; and I will not poſitively charge him, tho' I grievouſly ſuſpect him. Sure I am, this is no Doctrine of the Church of *England*.

O. C. was permitted by God's Providence, as a Scourge and Plague to this ſinful and unworthy Nation; both to Prince, and People: according to the third Premiſe. And *for the tranſgreſſions of a land many are the Princes thereof*, Prov. 28. 2.

But King *William* was ſent to us by Divine Providence as a gracious Gift, and the greateſt Temporal Bleſſing, that God could vouchſafe a poor, diſtreſſed, diſtracted Nation: according to the fifth Premiſe.

And indeed (to do this Gent. right) I charitably preſume that it is want of Diſtinction in Divinity, not in his thoughts, to compare *O C.* and King *William*. For, *P.* 12. he applieth *Dan.* 4. 17. where God is ſaid to ſet over Kingdoms *the baſeſt of men*, ſuch as *O. C.* was, Kings given to a ſinful Nation in his wrath, and ſometimes as ſuddenly again taken away in his anger, and at other times continued longer for the Trial of his People, or the Chaſtiſement of wicked men: which is good Divinity.

I ſhall conclude this about God's Providence with the words of our Royal Martyr, of ever Bleſſed Memory, King *Charles* the Firſt, (Εικ. Βασιλ. *p.* 295. with me) *Gods wiſe Providence (we know) often permits many Events, which his revealed Word (the only clear, ſafe, and fixed Rule of good Actions and good Conſciences) in no ſort approves.*

Let not the meaneſt in underſtanding miſtake me, I am not for Election every Reign, but for Succeſſion, juſt as it is in *England*. But I ſay, Election is the true Title of all Government originally, and this is the Foundation of all the various Forms in the World. *Power is Gods: but the Form* (as St. *Peter* ſaith) *is an Humane Creation, Conſtitution, or Ordinance.* I never loved to lye for God's

God's Cauſe: (it needs it not) nor daub with untempered Mortar; (God forbids it).

For my part, if I did not in Conſcience believe that the late King by his Male-adminiſtration deſerved what he hath ſuffered, not only from the hand of God, but alſo from the hand of his Subjects: and that in this Revolution they are innocent, who defended themſelves and the Laws of their Country againſt his Arbitrary Proceedings, I ſhould think my ſelf bound by the Oath of Allegiance to pray for his Reſtauration. But becauſe he hath broken his Covenant, Coronation Oath, and Promiſe, I am ſure our part of the Bond and Covenant is cancelled alſo. And that Kings were at firſt by Election, I prove thus, in the words of a great Divine not much altered:

What firſt inveſted ſuch a Family with Regal Power more than another? It muſt be either God from Heaven deſigning it, as David: *or man appointing it; or taken by Force; there is no fourth.* It was not the firſt, and to ſay the third is right, is an extream wrong to the King. If meer Force can give right, then whoſoever is moſt forcible hath right. It muſt therefore be ſomething elſe. What can that be but the conſent of the People in Parliament to ſuch a Family? which is in effect all one with Election: you may give it what name you will.

But ſaith this Gentleman, *P.* 28. *The Primitive Church in the beſt times took the words of S.* Paul *in their plain and literal ſenſe, The Powers that are* (αἱ δὲ οὖσαι) i. e. *in Poſſeſſion) are ordained, or ordered of God,* Rom. 13. *They never formalize or make any Exception, but Conqueſt, Election, Uſurpation, were to them all alike, if once the man was Eſtabliſhed in the Throne.*

Anſw. I will not here take occaſion to conſider what learned Criticks ſay about the word, ὑπο, on which he ſeems to lay ſome ſtreſs, (but they ſay it ſignifies the True (or Lawful) Powers) nor will I expatiate in Analyzing this Text, tho' I have a Diſcourſe upon this ſubject by me. And I have read ſuch Doctrine as this in ſome *Oliverian* Pamphlets in our late Anarchy and Confuſion. And if occaſion be, I can produce one, which perhaps this Gent. hath ſeen, and hath been corrupted by it, or by ſome like it. But ſure he never read this Doctrine in any Book, written by any Divine of the Church of *England.*

I have before diſtinguiſhed between a Lawful and an Uſurped Magiſtracy, according to the beſt Divines of all Churches, that ever I read: inſomuch that I wonder at this Gentleman, who profeſſeth himſelf of the Communion of the Church of *England*. According to this Doctrine it is a poor, weak thing to be a Martyr, or to ſuffer for Loyalty to our King or Country. Whereas it hath in all Ages, not only among Chriſtians, but alſo among Heathens, by the light of Nature, been accounted a moſt Heroick Virtue to lay down our Lives for theſe. If this Gent. had been alive, and of years to adviſe, no Subject ſhould have ſuffered with King *Charles* the Firſt, if he had been their Counſel. I am ſo angry, that if I knew Thieves deſigned to rob this Gent. Houſe, I would not counſel one Neighbour to aſſiſt againſt theſe Rogues, but would commit it to God to determine as he thought fit, as his Cant is, *P.* 3. which vergeth very near to Blaſphemy. And this very Phraſe makes me think that this honeſt Gent. hath been miſled by ſome Fanatick Book. I cannot think that he ran into this Error wittingly, and willingly, and deliberately: he is a good Chriſtian ſurely: becauſe, *P. l.* he ſpeaks againſt thoſe that deſpiſe all *revealed Religion*, and that ſort of Men who have *their All in this world, and pretend to nothing in the next:* (and therefore I muſt in Charity believe he hath the Hope of a Chriſtian) but I cannot but explode his Doctrine. O putrid Divinity! Phy upon this groſs *Machiavelian* and *Hobbean Policy!*

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Good Sir, In the fear of God review that part of your Diſcourſe which concerns God's Providence, and the Government of Kingdoms and States: and learn to diſtinguiſh between good and bad, perhaps your ſecond thoughts may be wiſer. Conſult with ſome learned and conſcientious Divine, and ſee if he will tell you, that in the Primitive times their Loyalty was one of their leſſer Virtues, upon which they never valued themſelves as you ſay, *P.* 3. You diſcourſe in ſo looſe and extravagant a manner, that I muſt beg leave to enter my Diſſent, and Proteſt againſt this Doſe of *Opium*. And I never read ſo much Poiſon adminiſtred with a good deſign before in my life. And if any applaud you for this Diſcourſe, I will pray with our Church in the Litany, *Lord have*

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But I hope our Engliſh Blood is ſtill Noble, and will count it their Honour, and the Glory of their Religion, to die for their King and Country, when occaſion is, and God ſhall call them thereunto. And this is true Church of *England* Loyalty, and approved by all the Churches of God. But at the rate that you talk, if *Corah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram* had had ſucceſs, it had been God's Providence, and Approbation, and ſo farewel *Moſes*. If *Abſalom* had been proſperous, and in Poſſeſſion of the Throne, right or wrong, *ſee to thy houſe*, David. What need we commend the Fidelity of *Ittai*, (that loyal Heart; that noble and conſtant Spirit) when he ſaith, *As the Lord liveth, and as my Lord the King liveth, ſurely in what place my Lord the King ſhall be, whether in death or life, even there alſo will thy Servant be*, 2 Sam. 15. 21. And they that furniſhed *David* with Proviſions, eſpecially *Barzillai* the *Gileadite*, (according to this Gent. Doctrine, and indeed his whole Diſcourſe of this Matter is meer Enthuſiaſm, as if God did all things without means) might have been wiſer and ſaved Charges, and committed the thing to God to determine as he thought fit. But I am weary of laſhing this Doctrine, (with which none but poor, weak, crazy Heads can be deceived, or vile, leud, and Atheiſtical men) becauſe it teacheth ſuch Nonſenſical, Diſloyal, Unchriſtian, and Unnatural Behaviour towards our King and Country. Voluptuous and Effeminate Epicures indeed by this Doctrine may ſleep in a whole skin, as we ſay: but if they do not betray, they will do no ſervice to the Throne and Kingdom in time of Difficulty. And as much as I think the late King was to blame, I cannot but pity him, if all his Adherents were of this Gent.

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But I hope our Engliſh Blood is ſtill Noble, and will count it their Honour, and the Glory of their Religion, to die for their King and Country, when occaſion is, and God ſhall call them thereunto. And this is true Church of *England* Loyalty, and approved by all the Churches of God. But at the rate that you talk, if *Corah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram* had had ſucceſs, it had been God's Providence, and Approbation, and ſo farewel *Moſes*. If *Abſalom* had been proſperous, and in Poſſeſſion of the Throne, right or wrong, *ſee to thy houſe*, David. What need we commend the Fidelity of *Ittai*, (that loyal Heart; that noble and conſtant Spirit) when he ſaith, *As the Lord liveth, and as my Lord the King liveth, ſurely in what place my Lord the King ſhall be, whether in death or life, even there alſo will thy Servant be*, 2 Sam. 15. 21. And they that furniſhed *David* with Proviſions, eſpecially *Barzillai* the *Gileadite*, (according to this Gent. Doctrine, and indeed his whole Diſcourſe of this Matter is meer Enthuſiaſm, as if God did all things without means) might have been wiſer and ſaved Charges, and committed the thing to God to determine as he thought fit. But I am weary of laſhing this Doctrine, (with which none but poor, weak, crazy Heads can be deceived, or vile, leud, and Atheiſtical men) becauſe it teacheth ſuch Nonſenſical, Diſloyal, Unchriſtian, and Unnatural Behaviour towards our King and Country. Voluptuous and Effeminate Epicures indeed by this Doctrine may ſleep in a whole skin, as we ſay: but if they do not betray, they will do no ſervice to the Throne and Kingdom in time of Difficulty. And as much as I think the late King was to blame, I cannot but pity him, if all his Adherents were of this Gent.

Mind.

Mind. But let God be true: and every Man a Liar. Is there no diſtinction to be made between Lawful Kings, and Uſurpers, or Tyrants in Title? And again, between Lawful Kings having Authority, and ruling according to Law, and Princes, that have Authority, but are Tyrants in Exerciſe, and would ſubvert the Ancient Government, and rule Arbitrarily. Again, he doth not diſtinguiſh between God's extraordinary and immediate, and his ordinary and mediate Providence; between what he doth by his Almighty Power immediately, and what he doth mediately, by Men as Inſtruments: and theſe Inſtruments are Good, or Bad. And here ſhould be conſidered in what manner he works by good Inſtruments, and in what manner by bad. And tho' this Subject is difficult, yet ſurely the Primitive Doctors and Fathers of the Church made diſtinction. I have ever thought that all Government in Church and State ſtands moſt firm upon its own Foundation. Let us have true Divinity, and true Policy once more in *England* for God's ſake.

Fourthly, I muſt conſider what he ſaith to the *Williamites*. And here what he ſaith, *P.* 35. is true, *We are ſatisfied and highly pleaſed with the preſent ſtate of Affairs.* But I obſerve here, that he fails in the uſual Complement and Addreſs of a Gent. He might (if he had thought of it) have honey'd the bow with us, as we ſay in our Country: and at his firſt Aggreſs given us thanks for aſſiſting in our ſeveral Callings and Places, to preſerve our Religion, and that Church, (of which, this Gent. ſaith he is a Member) and our Laws, Liberties, and Properties. But oh! this *Paſſive Obedience*. I have a mind to ſay once more, that I would have it rooted out of the world, becauſe this ingenious Gent. (and, verily in my heart I believe, a good Chriſtian) hath forgotten the common courteſie of the Nation, and falls foul upon us with ſome moroſity. He ſaith, *We have appeared very pertly againſt the Doctrine of Non-reſiſtance and Paſſive Obedience.* Very pretty! This Gent. in Conſcience could neither reſiſt, nor aſſiſt: and therefore tho' he is glad of the Deliverance, yet he cannot thank the Deliverers. Well, but at leaſt he might be ſilent, and not ſpeak evil of thoſe who with a good Conſcience could, and thorough God's bleſſing did deliver him from that Bondage under which he groaned. If I were in the mire, and the greateſt Villain upon Earth helped me out, ſo far I would be thankful to him, and own his

his kindneſs, as not to expoſe him, when I am not bound in Conſcience. But this Gent. deſign is to put an *End to this unſeaſonable Controverſie*, p. 2. Very well: Why then does he aſſert and defend *Paſſive Obedience*, as the Glory of the Church of *England*, and the Bulwark of all Religious Kings and States, againſt the rage of mutinous and rebellious Spirits, who pretend to fight for God's Truth, againſt the Laws and Governments of their Countries? *P.* 36. This fooliſh and ſottiſh Charge would move a ſtone, as we ſay. Surely he had a mind to provoke us, and quicken this Controverſie, almoſt buried in the Grave of Silence.

I could here fairly illuſtrate, and make it probable, that *Paſſive Obedience* hath been (I will not ſay the Cauſe, but) the Occaſion of the Ruin of two Kings, and of a Civil War, and of the *Church of* England *once*, and almoſt the *ſecond* time: (for what reaſonable man, indued with fleſh and blood, can indure this Church Tyranny, that in any caſe whatſoever we muſt not reſiſt?) Would to God this Gent. would have been quiet. Does he think that we will be beat out of our Senſes once more, and that ſo ſoon after our eyes have been opened? I will rebuke him in the words of *Job*, cap. 27. verſes 5, 6, 7, 8. *God forbid that I ſhould juſtifie you: till I die, I will not remove my Integrity from me. My righteouſneſs I hold faſt, and will not let it go: My heart ſhall not reproach me ſo long as I live. Let my Enemies be as the wicked, and he that riſeth up againſt me as the unrighteous. For what is the hope of the Hypocrite, tho' he hath gained, when God taketh away his Soul?* I will ſtand by it, there is no other way in Conſcience to juſtifie our cauſe, but by aſſerting defenſive Arms in ſome Caſe.

But ſays this Gent. *We had no diſloyal Exhortations from the Preſs or Pulpit to perſwade men to fight againſt their Prince: nor had we any to perſwade us to fight for Him: but the thing was committed to God to determine as he thought fit*, P. 3.

God a mercy Prejudice. I Suppoſe our Reverend Fathers, and Brethren can give an Account to the world of their own Behaviour, without aſſerting God's Providence in this Gent. wild notion. But for once I will write a Latin Sentence, *Turdus ſibi malum cacat.* Every man muſt Anſwer for himſelf. I'le blame no man that does not blame me. But ſome Writings from the Preſs we had, and from the hand of a Perſon, who is now dignified in the Church, if we are not all miſtaken. And he is highly approved

proved of by His preſent Majeſty, and all the Clergy that are without Prejudice, and honour real worth, ſpeak honourably of him.

As for our Gracious King, the whole ſeries of his Proceedings ſince He Landed on Engliſh Ground, ſhews his moſt Excellent Virtues, Juſtice, Mercy, Clemency, Fortitude, and Magnanimity. And I am confident He can ſay, what the Emperor *Trajan* ſaid to a Tribune, when he ſet him over the *Prætorian* Band, delivering the Sword, *Uſe this for me, when I Command juſt things; and againſt me, when I Command unjuſt things.* And now (with due Submiſſion to my Governours in Church and State) I come to the main Matter of Controverſie.

Firſt, I aſſert, That Defenſive Arms are in ſome caſe Lawful, and conſequently that the *Doctrine* of *Paſſive Obedience* and *Non-reſiſtance* is falſe. This I have proved in a Sermon on 1 *Sam.* 23. 12.

Secondly, That this Doctrine of Defenſive Arms in ſome caſe was never cenſured by the Church of *England*, till Innovation began to creep into the Church, and Arbitrary Power into the State. The Church of *England* hath always been ſo wiſe and moderate, as to allow difference of Judgment in theſe Speculative Matters. No man can Preach Obedience to Governours, who are *God's Miniſters*, *God's Vicegerents*, and called *Gods*, too Zealouſly. But to ſay, that if we are never ſo innocent, nor never ſo much oppreſſed, we may not defend our ſelves, is worſe than to make us Gally-ſlaves and Aſſes of Burden.

Thirdly, I never read any Church in the Chriſtian World, which did not juſtifie defenſive Arms in ſome caſe; and tho' I never read that any man called *Paſſive Obedience* an Antichriſtian Doctrine; yet, I ſay, it is an Unnatural Doctrine. I have read that the ever renowned *Luther*, the Author of the Reformation, and the firſt Defender of the Proteſtant Cauſe againſt the Tyranny and Innovation of the Papiſts, was called (*Tuba Rebellionis*) the Trumpeter of Rebellion. And I remember not long ſince, that divers Popiſh Officers in the Army Drank ſuch a kind of Health as this, *Confuſion to the Cornet and his Trumpeters.* But God hath abated their Pride, aſſwaged their Malice, and confounded their Devices. And He, who was the firſt Confeſſor (as I may ſay) of our Church, I mean, the Right Reverend Father in God,

the

the Lord Biſhop of *London*, by his Conſtancy in the true Religion, now ſhines like a Star of the firſt Magnitude in the Firmament of our Church. We know that *Elijah* was called the *Troubler of Iſrael*. St. *Paul* was called a *mover of Sedition*. And the beſt men, and moſt zealous for God's Truth, in their ſeveral Ages have been revi'ed by Inſolent, Imperious, and Deviliſh Spirits. But what hath the Righteous done? We have helped to ſave the Nation. We have been Inſtruments under God to ſet a Proteſtant King and Queen over us, who are ſo humble in their Greatneſs, that they are greater in Goodneſs, than in Place; to whom we are obliged, not only in Duty, but in Gratitude, for accepting the Rule over us. (For His Sacred Majeſty hath the trouble, but we have nothing but eaſe and quiet; we ſit under our own Vines, that is, enjoy all that is ours with great Security.) We have a *Nurſing Father* and a *Nurſing Mother* to our Church. Is there, or can there be a Murmurer in our *Iſrael?* O fooliſh People and unwiſe! O miſerable Mortals that are never contented! What can we wiſh? what can God do more for us? Thoſe Proteſtants, that are not pleaſed with the Government, muſt go to Heaven, for they will never be pleaſed on Earth, if they are not now.

But after this rapture, let us return to our Honeſt Gentleman. He ſays, *P.* 35. *The Doctrine of* Non-reſiſtance *hath been often proved the genuine Doctrine of the beſt Ages of the Church, and that ſo fully and clearly, that they who would not yield to the force of the Proof, have not been able to deny the truth of it, but have been forced to Pretend it was only Temporary, and doth not oblige all Ages: which is hardly ſence.*

Anſw. If any of our ſide ſay, that it was only *Temporary*, let them juſtifie it, I cannot undertake their defence; but I could never meet with any of thoſe that ſay ſo. I confeſs I have read this Objection before now. And ſome Popiſh Author ſaith, that it was *Occaſional*, which in this caſe is equivalent to *Temporary:* but I believe what the Scripture ſaith in this caſe obligeth all Ages. But then I deny, That *the Doctrine of* Non-reſiſtance *hath been often proved the Genuine Doctrine of the beſt Ages of the Church.* This Gentleman knows, That the *Old Teſtament* was given by Inſpiration of God, as well as the *New*. And he knows (I ſuppoſe) that the *Jews* were under the ſame *Covenant* for *Subſtance* that

we *Chriſtians* are, tho' not under the ſame Adminiſtration thereof. *They* (ſays *Nazianzen*) *were Chriſtians in Work or Deed, tho' not in Name.* Now we know that the *Primitive Church* of Chriſt was under *Heathen Emperours*, and that the *Civil State* was never *Chriſtian.* But the *Precepts. Rules*, and *Examples* of *Governours* in *Samuel*, *Kings*, and *Chronicles*, are Patterns for us in like caſe. And here, we ſay, *David*'s Example is plain and undeniable. And this Gent. produces no Scripture but *Romans* the 13th, which I have already conſidered, and (if occaſion be offered) have much more to ſay.

Object. *The Church is now in other Circumſtances than ſhe was then; which is not true neither.*

Anſw. I am ſure it is true of the Church of *England.* We do not live under *Heathen Emperours*, neither are there any Laws againſt us, but all are for us. Our Religion is Eſtabliſhed, and is part of our Property as it were, which no man can invade, as I have ſaid before, and need not repeat. It is confeſs'd that Chriſtians under the Turk muſt ſubmit to Death, or Fly, becauſe the Laws of the Country are againſt them: and Chriſt came not to alter Political Government. But what is this to us, where *Governours* and *Governed* are all *Chriſtians*, and make one *Political* as well as *Eccleſiaſtical Body?* And what *David* did, being cauſeleſly and illegally wronged by *Saul*, we may do in like caſe.

He hath ſome more *Rhetorications*, and *Amplifications*; but there is nothing *new*, and all is already anſwered: only I muſt take notice of one thing that he ſaith, *P.* laſt. *It is certain the greateſt part of the Nation did not Reſiſt, but refuſed to Aſſiſt.* This Notion he hugs dearly: but I think I have ſhewed the weakneſs of it, in all that juſtifie *Paſſive Obedience.* As for others, I blame them not. There are degrees of *Knowledge*, and degrees of *Virtue*, and degrees of *Zeal.* Some have *Heroick Zeal*, which is not indiſpenſably required of all. And God knows what Circumſtances many were in, who wiſhed well to the Cauſe. And no Divine thinks that the Proteſtants in the Weſt of *Ireland* are at this day bound to Publiſh their Thoughts with the hazard of their Lives. But be it as it will, I dare Poll with this Gentleman. I am ſure about us there were five to one, to ſpeak within compaſs: Nay, ſcarce a man that was not Zealous for the Prince of *Orange*, but was branded, and perhaps miſrepreſented. But I confeſs Number,

great

great or ſmall, makes not a Cauſe Good or Evil; yet in our Caſe it ſhews, that moſt of the Lay-Members of the Church of *England*, did not believe the Doctrine of *Paſſive Obedience*, and *Non-reſiſtance*. But God forbid that I ſhould juſtifie ſome of the things that were done in the Heat of the *late Revolution*, as this Gent. ſpeaks, *P.* 36. *Some were guilty of Irregularities, which according to the ſtrict Rules of the Goſpel cannot be juſtified.* And *O that God would give all that were Active in this Cauſe his Grace, that they may be true Chriſtians as well as true Proteſtants, and their Souls Eternally happy.* I hope that God will accept of what was well done, and Pardon our Infirmities, thorough the Son of his Love.

Let us now come to the hardeſt Task, and moſt unpleaſing Subject, *The Power of Depoſing Kings, and diſpoſing of their Kingdoms.* There are Learned, Pious and Judicious Proteſtant Divines that are of this Opinion; whoſe Arguments I imagine this Gentleman would be puzzled to Anſwer. Our Convention (if I miſtake not) did declare that the late King Abdicated the Kingdom, broke his Original Contract, and vacated the Throne; and what is this but that he depoſed himſelf? Almoſt all, Nobility, Clergy, and Commons were for a Regency without Scruple, and what is that but a milder word for Depoſing? This was a Fig-leaf to hide the Nakedneſs of thoſe who raſhly had aſſerted the Divine Right of *Monarchy*, and *Paſſive Obedience*, and *Non-reſiſtance* in any Caſe. But I ſuppoſe the late King would not thank theſe Gentlemen for putting him into the ſtate of a natural Fool, a Madman, or a Lunatick. I confeſs thoſe Noble Perſons, and Wiſe Lords, and Great Councellors of State, who did never believe Divine Right, Antecedent to Agreement, in Prudence might Vote for a Regency: Becauſe all Alteration in Government, (much more ſo great an Alteration) is troubleſom, as ſhaking the very Foundations of the Building. And all wiſe Men and Politicians never change but in extreme Neceſſity, taking *Solomon*'s Advice, *Meddle not with them that are given to Change.* But yet if a Nation be forced to take up Defenſive Arms, they muſt be Secured before they lay them down; and if the King be ſo Perfidious, as this Gent. repreſents him, even at this time to the *Iriſh Proteſtants*, p. 23. it would have been (as he ſays in the ſame place) *Incorrigible folly* to have truſted him; and conſequently in this

Caſe, it is my Opinion and Conſcience, that he was juſtly Depoſed. *See Diſcourſe on* Dan. 5. 20. And this Gentleman if he is conſiſtent with himſelf about his Notions of God's Providence, muſt needs ſay, that it is not only God's *Permiſſion*, but *Approbation*: tho' *P.* 35. he rails at it, as from the Devil. But I leave him to reconcile his own Sentences, for to me they ſeem a contradiction. I beg His Sacred Majeſties Pardon upon my knees, and I am ſorry if I have Scandalized the great Councellors of State in revealing this Myſtery: But I am a Preacher of God's Word, and I believe in my Conſcience our preſent Cauſe can be juſtified no other way. And ſeeing all was at ſtake, as this Gent. confeſſes, our *Religion*, our *Laws*, *Liberty*, *Property*, *Wives*, *Children*, and *Poſterity*, and whatſoever is done is *God's Providence*; methinks this Gent. might pronounce us *Innocent*, and not *Damn us*. But however if he will *Damn us*, we poſſibly may eſcape his hands: for he is not God, but a poor, weak man. And I could afford to give him another piece of my advice, but I will let it alone for this time. Let me add, The Church of *England*, being truly Loyal, could not dream of ſuch an extraordinary Caſe. But bleſſed be God, ſome were *wiſe as Serpents*, tho' *harmleſs as Doves*: Let me uſe the words of St. *Paul*, Rom. 9. 1. *I ſpeak the truth in Chriſt, I lye not: my Conſcience alſo bearing me witneſs in the Holy Ghoſt*; Thoſe Noble *Patriots* of the *Proteſtant Religion*, and *Liberties* of their *Country*, into whoſe Hearts God put it to invite the Prince of *Orange* over, deſerve this Motto. And tho' we Canonize no Saints, nor give Divine Worſhip to any but God, yet I wiſh their Names were known, that the Nation might Erect a Monument for them, with this Inſcription, *Hitherto hath the Lord helped us, and theſe are the Names of thoſe Great Souls, who run the hazzard of being accurſed by the Papiſts for us their Proteſtant Brethren.* O moſt *Sage Politicians*, and moſt *Heroick Chriſtians!* tho' this Gentleman's Doctrine calls them *Traitors* and *Rebels*. O brutiſh and ungrateful Prejudice! what can any free Mind think of theſe Effects of *Paſſive Obedience?* Had it been an uncircumciſed Philiſtin, a ſubtile Jeſuit, who had thus defyed the *Armies of the Living God*, and called them *Rebels*, it had been no wonder: But for a Gent. a Subject to King *William* and Queen *Mary*, a Proteſtant thus to dip his Pen in Gall, and ſadden the hearts of thoſe who ſhould fight the Lord's Battel in *Ireland*, by calling them *Rebels*,

bels, is a Riddle that I cannot unfold. I dare ſay that the moſt Reverend Father in God the Arch-Biſhop, and the other Right Reverend Biſhops, who cannot ſatisfie their own Scruples, (which is their Calamity, and our Grief, tho' there is all the reaſon in the world, that all ſhould ſwear Allegiance to Their preſent Majeſties, and they cannot be helped) do not cenſure us as Rebels, who according to our Conſciences have aſſiſted the Prince of *Orange* in this Revolution. When I reflect on this, I am tempted to lay aſide my former good opinion of this Gentleman, and muſt ſay what *Michael* the Arch-Angel ſaid, when he contended with the Devil about the Body of *Moſes*, *The Lord rebuke thee. God give him repentance and a better mind; for he ſeems like wicked* Doeg *and his Confederates, that Enemy of* David, *and falſe accuſer of his Brethren*, of whom the Prophet ſaith, *Pſal.* 140. 3. *They have ſharpened their tongues like a Serpent: Adders Poiſon is under their lips.*

I have Studied theſe Controverſies about Government in Church and State for ſome Years: but more exactly upon the riſing of the Diſputes about the Bill of Excluſion, I have always been Inquiſitive, and have ſtriven to give a Reaſon of my Faith, and to ſearch to the Bottom, that my Principles might be unmoveable, and unblameable with Wiſe and Good men. And what I have written by way of Aſſertion, (to uſe Dr. *Fern*'s words,) Concluſion, or General Rule, is but a Sacrificing to Truth from a Conſcience not ſimply devoted to man. And I have always eſteemed it the greateſt Preferment to have Liberty to ſpeak Truth. I was not for the Bill of Excluſion, becauſe neceſſity of Change was not palpable to me; but I was againſt it, as an Act of Imprudence, not an Act of Injuſtice, (as I then ſaid) if King, Lords and Commons ſhould think fit. But as for *Monmouth*'s Rebellion, I abhor it at this day; becauſe the late King had Promiſed upon the word of a King, that he would Protect us, and Rule according to Law, and he might have made himſelf and us happy, notwithſtanding his Religion, and I do not remember, that he had commanded any thing againſt Law at that time. And I have been taught, and teach others, that Subjects muſt not be Jealous of their Prince, and that Defenſive Arms are Lawful only in Extreme Neceſſity. And I verily believe that the late King deſigned not at the firſt, what he Acted afterwards. His Boſom Friend, his Prieſts, and his Jeſuits (like a pack of half-witted Knaves and

and Fools) ſtirred him up to his own, and the Deſtruction of them all.

Thus I have (diſcreetly, or indiſcreetly, rationally or not, I muſt leave the indifferent Reader to judge, but I am ſure with greateſt Satisfaction of my own Conſcience) laid open my heart to my Countrymen. And I am ready to Anſwer this Gentleman, or any of my Brethren, in theſe Problems following.

Firſt, That the Church of *Rome* is an Idolatrous Church.

Secondly, In ſome Caſe Defenſive Arms are Lawful.

Thirdly, In ſome Caſe it is Lawful to Abdicate a King.

Fourthly, King *William* and Queen *Mary*, by the free conſent and Election of the People (in Convention) have as good a Title as ever any had.

Fifthly, Neither *Monarchy*, nor *Epiſcopacy*, nor *Presbytery*, nor any one Form of Government in Church or State, is of Divine Right Antecedent to Law and Agreement.

Sixthly, That if the *Biſhops* and *Presbyterians* could Unite in one *National Church* and *Worſhip* by a Comprehenſion, it would be a bleſſed Agreement.

Seventhly, That *Liberty of Conſcience* for all *Diſſenting Proteſtants*, of what Sect ſoever, with ſome Limitations and Reſtrictions as to Government; yea, *Papiſts* themſelves in ſome Degree not *Excepted*, is a piece of Prudence and harmleſs Policy at leaſt, if not of Chriſtianity, which commands univerſal Charity.

Laſtly, I think that I can ſhew that theſe Problems are not contrary to the Practice of this Church and State in the Beginning of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, whoſe Memory is for ever bleſſed among Proteſtants. And if I could have the Licenſe of the Preſs, I doubt not to make theſe things probable, notwithſtanding the Preſent Prejudices of many.

I have read that there was no Perſecution for Religion in the Beginning of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, and if I were worthy to adviſe, there ſhould be no Perſecution for Religion in the beginning, nor in the whole Reign of King *William* and Queen *Mary*, that Glory may be to God on High (as the Angels Song is) on Earth Peace, good will towards Men; that Man may be at Peace with Man, and all Men may be reconciled to God. I hate Bigotiſm

tiſm for an Opinion, tho' I think every Man is bound in Conſcience to lay down his life for his King and Country (when God ſhall call him thereunto) and earneſtly contend for the Faith which was once delivered to the Saints, againſt the Abominations of the *Roman* Synagogue. As for *Proteſtants*, they agree in the *Main*: and tho' I approve of the Saying of a Learned *Presbyter*, if Opinions make Saints, or Saints make Opinions, we ſhall quickly have more Opinions than Saints; yet St. *Paul* ſays, *They that are ſtrong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak, and not to pleaſe themſelves*, Rom. 15. 1. And I like *Gamaliel*'s Councel, as moſt ſeaſonable for our times, for this reaſon among others, becauſe it is a good natured thing, and all mens Minds are ſo full of Prejudice, that what one calls Saint, another calls Devil. Wherefore *refrain from theſe men, and let them alone: for if this Counſel, or this Work be of men, it will come to nought. But if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it, leſt haply ye be found even to fight againſt God*, Acts 5. 38, 39. I believe in my Conſcience, that the Church of *England* in her Liturgy and Ceremonies, as by Law eſtabliſhed, is fairly defenſible againſt all Antagoniſts: But the Church her Self never thought them equal to God's Word, or unalterable in ſome Exigents, as the Right Reverend the Biſhops and Great Men of our Church have with no leſs Prudence than Piety acknowledged in all times, and more eſpecially in their late Petition to King *James*, wherein they ſay, *that they want not due tenderneſs towards Diſſenters, and that they ſhall willingly come to ſuch a Temper as ſhall be thought fit when Matters come to be ſettled in Parliament and Convocation.* And this is all that ever I deſigned, for the great End of Peace and Union among Proteſtants. And now I have Cauſe to be angry with this Gent. for he hath heated me, and ſet me on fire, and that in Hell too. But if he will Damn the Prieſts and Jeſuits, he may for me; for they deſerve the Curſes of the Nation, but if ever he Damns us again, I think what I'll do, and I need not care if I tell him, tho' I am a Reprobate, and the worſt of Reprobates, a Rebel, I will do what I can to ſave his Soul, by reducing him to a more Charitable Opinion of the Friends of his King and Country, and that he ſhall never produce *Rom.* 13. againſt us more, tho' perhaps I may ſhame him in this world. *The Righteous is as bold as a Lion*, ſays *Solomon*, *Prov.* 28. 1. What Evil have we done? Nay, what Good for this Cauſe have we not done? Was ever any Man before Damned for helping

helping to Save his Country? What does this Gent. mean? I tell him again, we have Cauſe to be Angry. But I have read excellent advice of St. *Paul*, Eph. 4. 28. *Be ye angry and Sin not: let not the Sun go down upon your wrath. Neither give place to the Devil*, v. 27. And therefore before I bid him, God be with you, Sir, this Gent. and I will ſhake hands, and be Friends: for we are reſolved that (if we can hinder it) the late King ſhall never return to *England* again. Hear what he ſays to the *Jacobites*, p. 24. If they admit all the dreadful Conſequences that attend this relapſe, and yield up both Church and Nation to certain and inevitable ruin, only that they may not be Damned for Perjury and Diſobedience to a King, that has left them when he might have ſtayed, and now offereth to return and do what he then refuſed; *What ſhall we alſo Conſent and Sacrifice our ſelves and our Poſterity to the humour or ſcruples of theſe men? Shall we ſuffer the Engliſh Church, Liberties, and the very People of* England *to be deſtroyed to gratifie two or three hundred Perſons?* And it is a remarkable Speech, if it be true, which, he ſaith, he hath been told from good hands, that one of our Biſhops, (Biſhop *Ken*) ſaid, Tho' he could not ſatisfie his own Scruples, yet he thought the Engliſh Nation fools, if ever they ſuffered King *James* to return. And *Pag.* 33. he ſaith, *It is now the ſame Sin to reſiſt them*, (that is, King *William* and Queen *Mary*) *it was formerly to reſiſt Him* (that is, King *James.*) And we will Joyn our hearts in Prayer, *Cloath all their Majeſties Enemies with ſhame, O Lord: but upon themſelves (and their Poſterity) may the Crown flouriſh (for ever)* Pſ. 132. 18. Long live King *William* and Queen *Mary*, (*Deliciæ humani Generis*) the Darlings of *England*, and the Favourites of Heaven, and may they late enter into Cœleſtial Joys. *Amen.*

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1 Sam. 23. 12.

Then ſaid David, *Will the men of* Keilah *deliver me and my men into the hands of* Saul ? *And the Lord ſaid, They will deliver thee up.*

SAUL was appointed by God, anointed by the Prophet *Samuel*, and choſen by the Children of *Iſrael* to be their King. And in the beginning of his Reign, being the firſt King of *Iſrael*, he was very proſperous againſt the *Ammonites*, and other Enemies of God's People: and all the Men of *Iſrael* rejoyced greatly. But *Saul* did not long continue in this happy Condition. He rebelled againſt God, to whom Kings ought to be ſubject, and did not hearken to his Commands. Whereupon God rejected him, and determined to tranſlate the Kingdom to *David*. The Spirit of the Lord departed from *Saul*, and an evil Spirit from the Lord troubled him. Which melancholick Diſtemper occaſioned him to ſeek out a Skilful Muſician to divert his perplexed Mind. And one of his Servants mentioned *David* as an excellent Artiſt, and a mighty valiant Man, and a Man of War, and Prudent in Matters, and a comely Perſon, and one much in God's favour.

This wrought upon the King, and he ſent for him: and was well pleaſed, and much refreſhed with *David*'s Muſick. *David* had not been long at Court, but by his Prudent Behaviour, Integrity, and great Valour he became very renowned. *Saul* made him General, and he was accepted in the ſight of all the People, and alſo in the ſight of *Saul*'s Servants. And after *David*'s Victory over the Philiſtins, they, Playing on Inſtruments, highly exalted *David* in their Songs of Triumph. This filled *Saul*'s heart with envy: and from that day forward he eyed *David*. The King greatly jealous of him, would have killed him with a Javelin: and was very angry with his Son *Jonathan* for holding Correſpon-

dence, and making a League of Amity with him. When *David* underſtood the King's wrath, he fled. But *Saul*'s envy and malice increaſed, and he perſecuted him from place to place *David* ſtill proteſted his Innocence and Loyalty: and not only barely proteſted, but ſufficiently manifeſted it by ſaving the King's life, when it was in his power to kill him. In this his Diſtreſs, *David*, being a Man of Valour, gathered together about Four hundred Men, and became Captain over them. And did good Service to his People againſt the Enemies of the Lord. Particularly, in this Chapter, he ſaved the Inhabitants of *Keilah* from the Philiſtins. When *Saul* heard that *David* was at *Keilah*, he reſolved to Beſiege him. *David*, being informed of this, inquired of God, whether King *Saul* would certainly come down with his Army: and whether the men of *Keilah* would deliver him up into *Saul*'s hands. The Lord anſwered him, and ſaid, *Saul* will come down, and that the men of *Keilah* would deliver him up.

The words are a Queſtion propoſed by *David* to God. And from this place ſome, both Divines, and Stateſmen, have been of Opinion, That it is very lawful for Subjects to defend themſelves by force of Arms againſt the oppreſſion and violence of their Kings. Which matter, being very great and weighty, (and of preſent practice) is worthy of moſt ſerious Conſideration.

This may well occaſion two Queſtions.

Firſt, Whether it may be deduced from this Text, that it is lawful for Subjects to defend themſelves by force of Arms againſt the Oppreſſion and Violence of their Kings.

Secondly, Whether it may be deduced from any other grounds.

Firſt, I ſhall conſider whether it may be deduced from this Text. They, who are for the Affirmative, ſay, That it is very clear that *David* did intend to defend himſelf againſt King *Saul* by force of Arms. And to this purpoſe deſired to know of the Lord, whether the *Keilites* would prove treacherous to him, or would ſtand by him, and fight to defend him. They ſay, that *David* would not have fled, if he had not underſtood their deſign to deliver him up into the hands of *Saul*. Now it cannot be denied, that *David* was the Servant of God, a very good and religious man, and therefore if this had been Rebellion, and Rebellion ſo hainous a Crime, *David* would not have intended, that which they ſay he did intend, to defend himſelf by fortifying the place; yea,

yea, and giving *Saul* Battel. Again, it cannot be denied, that *David* was *Saul*'s Subject; that he was injuriouſly treated, oppreſſed, and perſecuted by *Saul*. And upon the whole matter they conclude, That this example or inſtance of *David* will juſtifie Defenſive Arms in caſe of Oppreſſion of Governours. And I muſt confeſs that I cannot anſwer the Arguments, if what they, who maintain this Opinion, ſay, be true, to wit, That *David* did intend to oppoſe *Saul* by force of Arms.

I am of Opinion, and fully convinced, that *David* intended to defend himſelf againſt his King in *Keilah*, if he could have been ſure that they would have helped him. Becauſe he might have fled before the Inquiry, ſeeing *David* knew that *Saul* ſecretly practiſed miſchief againſt him, *v.* 9. Whether *David* (ſaith no mean Divine) would have defended *Keilah* againſt *Saul*, I leave to the Conſcience of the Reader, conſidering that this only is made the reaſon of his removing from *Keilah*, becauſe the men of *Keilah* would not be faithful to him. For he did not inquire of the Lord whether it were lawful for him to abide in *Keilah*: but having inquired whether *Saul* would come down againſt him, and whether the *Keilites* would deliver him up into *Saul*'s hands, he removed from *Keilah*, becauſe the Lord anſwered him, that they would deliver him up: not becauſe it was unlawful for him to keep the City, but becauſe the City would be falſe to him. And the end, why he deſired to know whether the *Keilites* would deal falſely with him, or no, was, that he might by his more early flight prevent their deſign of delivering him up into the hands of *Saul*. It is certain by the event, that as ſoon as their ungrateful treachery was diſcovered to *David*, he forthwith aroſe, departed out of *Keilah*, and eſcaped. And *Pelacher* (a very Learned Analyzer) ſaith, that this flight was commanded to *David* by the Divine Oracle, at which he inquired.

The Suppoſition then is plain and clear, that *David* would have defended himſelf in *Keilah* againſt *Saul*, if the *Keilites* would have been true to him.

Which may be proved by theſe Conſiderations.

Firſt, It is certain by Scripture, that *David* had a Company, Six hundred men at leaſt. And why ſhould he gather ſo many men together, or what uſe of ſuch an Army, if not to defend himſelf by force of Arms againſt the injuſtice of *Saul*? This will be

more plain, if we reflect on *Chap.* 22. the Chapter before the Text. Where we read that *David* departed from *Achiſh* King of *Gath*, and *eſcaped to the Cave of* Adullam: *and when his Brethren, and all his Fathers houſe heard it, they went down thither to him.* It is ſuppoſed to be a Town in the Tribe of *Judah*, fortified by Nature and Art. He received all that came to him, and was their Captain. He ſecured his Father and Mother with the King of *Moab*, to whom *Saul* was an Enemy at that time, 1 *Sam.* 14. 47. Which had been needleſs, if there had not been an Aſſociation to defend themſelves. The Prophet *Gad*, one of God's holy Prophets was on his ſide: and commanded him in God's Name to go into the Land of *Judah*. Then *David* departed, and came into the Foreſt of *Hareth*, where were many ſecret places, *v.* 5. And *Abiathar*, the Prieſt, who eſcaped *Saul*'s cruelty, fled to *David*, and joyned with him, *v.* 20, &c. Which ſtill juſtifies Self-defence in caſe of Oppreſſion. He had the Ephod in his hand. Whether this were by chance, (as ſome Expoſitors ſay) or by choice, he light upon the High Prieſt's Ephod, (ſaith Mr. *Trappe*) that had the *Urim* and *Thummim* in it. It was ſurely a ſweet Providence of God for the comfort of his poor Servant *David*. Hence God anſwered not *Saul* by *Urim* and *Thummim*, 1 Sam. 28. 8. For it was now with *David*, not with *Saul*. This Ephod thus brought, ſaith one, was more than if many thouſand Souldiers had come to *David*. After his departure from *Keilah*, *David* abode in the wilderneſs in ſtrong holds, and remained in the Mountains in the wilderneſs of *Ziph*: and God ſtill preſerved him, *v.* 14. of this Chapter of our Text. *Ziph* belonged to the Tribe of *Judah*: and the Mountains of this Region were craggy, and full of cleſts of Rocks: and therefore places of good ſhelter and defence. Yea, *David*'s cauſe was ſo plain and good, that *Jonathan*, *Saul*'s Son, would not joyn with his Father againſt *David*, but made a League with him, *v.* 18. Again, *v.* 29. *David* dwelt in ſtrong holds at *Engedi*. He would not truſt *Saul*. For he knew the diſpoſition of *Saul*, his inconſtant mind, and unbridled violence, eſpecially ſince an evil Spirit had troubled him. Again, 1 *Sam.* 24. 2. Saul *took three thouſand choſen men out of all Iſrael, and went to ſeek* David, *and his men upon the rocks of the wild goats.* What need *Saul* have three thouſand men, if *David* did not defend himſelf? And, *v.* 22. *David* and his men gat them up into the hold. He would not truſt *Saul*, who

who had ſo often promiſed, and broke his word. And verily in Matters of ſo great concernment Credulity argues great Folly. (Tr.) *Saul* was faithleſs, and *David* had no reaſon to believe him. And, 1 *Chron.* 12. 8. the men of might, and the men of war forſook *Saul*, and joyned themſelves to *David*. The Tribe of *Gad* was near to *Moab*, and in a deſert place, through which *David* wandred, and therefore they joyned with him. And, *v.* 17. *David went out to meet them, and anſwered and ſaid unto them: If ye be come peaceably to me to help me, my heart ſhall be knit to you: but if ye be come to betray me to mine Enemies, ſeeing there is no wrong in my hand, the God of our Fathers look thereon, and rebuke it.* Did not *David* (tho' yet a Subject to *Saul*) take up Arms, and make forcible Reſiſtance? It is ſaid expreſly, *v.* 18, 19. *Then* David *received them, and made them Captains of bands.* And there fell ſome of *Manaſſeh* to *David*, when he came with the Philiſtins againſt *Saul* to Battel. And when ever *Amaſai* uttered thoſe words, *v.* 18. (whether before, or after *David* had the Kingdom, I need not diſpute) it is evident, that they argue the goodneſs of *David*'s cauſe. The Spirit came upon *Amaſai*, who was chief of the Companies, and he ſaid, *Thine are we*, David, *and on thy ſide, thou Son of* Jeſſe: *Peace, Peace be unto thee, and Peace be to thy helpers: for thy God helpeth thee.* It was a Form of Salutation familiar with the *Jews*, when they wiſhed proſperity and good ſucceſs to any perſon. And the Ingemination ſhews their Zeal. And the whole demonſtrates, that for the Innocent to defend themſelves, even by force of Arms, is very pleaſing to God. Thus I have demonſtrated, that it may be deduced from this Text, That it is lawful for Subjects to defend themſelves by force of Arms againſt the oppreſſion and violence of their Kings.

I ſhall now enter upon the ſecond Queſtion, Whether it may be deduced from any other Grounds.

I am for the Affirmative of this Queſtion, It may be deduced from Scripture, or Reaſon, *That it is lawful for Subjects to defend themſelves*, &c.

And here it will be convenient to ſet down what is agreed upon on both ſides.

Firſt, That all Governours in their ſeveral Dominions and Places are to be honoured according to their ſeveral Dignities and

and Titles with due homage and Allegiance of all their Subjects. We muſt render to *Caſar* the things that are *Caſar*'s: Honour to whom Honour is due: Fear to whom Fear: Tribute to whom Tribute. And this out of Conſcience, and for the Lord's ſake, who hath made them his Miniſters.

Secondly, It is a moſt hainous Sin; a Crime of a deep dye, by thought, word, or deed to derogate from the honour of our Governours, or to indeavour to raiſe Factions and Diſcontents among their Subjects. He that any way deſpiſeth Dominion, or ſpeaketh evil of Dignities is a vile Tranſgreſſor.

Thirdly, To reſiſt Governours, when they rule according to Law, is to oppoſe God's own Ordinance. And therefore Rebels ought to be moſt ſeverely puniſhed by Governours themſelves, and ſhall certainly indure God's wrath, without Repentance, and receive Damnation.

Fourthly, Every Subject is bound by all good means to aſſiſt his Governours in the due Execution of Law and Juſtice: and to hazard Life it ſelf upon his Lawful Commands: and to diſcover all Conſpiracies, Treaſons, or Violence offered or intended to be offered to his Perſon.

Fifthly, Every Chriſtian Subject, living under the Government of a Prince of an idolatrous, heatheniſh, or falſe Religion, is not therefore looſed from the Bond of his Allegiance. But he muſt readily yield *Active Obedience* to all lawful Commands of his Governours, and *Paſſive Obedience*, ſo called, that is, He muſt quietly and meekly ſuffer, when the Laws of his Governours Command that which is againſt the Laws of his God, and his Saviour, whom he ought to fear in the firſt place.

Sixthly, Every Governour is bound in Conſcience to defend and protect his Subjects in their lawful Rights and Liberties: and not to Command any thing that God hath forbidden. And if he doth oppreſs them by illegal Impoſitions, or puniſh them for a good Conſcience, he is guilty before God, and muſt expect the vengeance of God, who is King of Kings, and Lord of Lords.

Seventhly, Every Oppreſſion or Corruption in Government is not preſently ſufficient to defend our ſelves by force. But it muſt be ſuch Oppreſſion, as tends to the Diſſolution of the Government; to the Deſtruction of Liberty; to the Ruin of the Subjects; or to the Change of Religion by Law Eſtabliſhed. And in this

this Caſe alſo Defenſive Arms are not Lawful, till Petitions, and all other good means, which may prevail with our Governours, be uſed, and yet fail of their end.

Thus (as I conceive) I have impartially repreſented both parts. And I know no man of Worth, Piety, or Learning, who will not eaſily aſſent to theſe Concluſions.

I ſhall now confirm my Opinion, that it is lawful for Subjects to defend themſelves by force of Arms againſt the Oppreſſion and Violence of their Kings.

Firſt, Becauſe God never gave the Magiſtrate Power or Authority to tyranize and oppreſs.

Secondly, Becauſe Governours are appointed for the good of the People.

Thirdly, Becauſe this is a violation of the Law of Nature.

Firſt, Becauſe God never gave the Magiſtrate Power or Authority to tyrannize and oppreſs. So that to reſiſt illegal Oppreſſion is not to reſiſt God's Ordinance, but mans Uſurpation; not the King's Authority, but his Luſt. Hence the Prophet *Eliſha* defended himſelf, 2 *King.* 6. 32. *Eliſha ſat in his houſe (and the Elders ſat with him) and the King ſent a man from before him, and ere the Meſſenger came to him, he ſaid to the Elders, See ye how this Son of a Murderer hath ſent to take away my head? Look when the Meſſenger cometh, ſhut the door, and hold him faſt at the door: Is not the ſound of his Maſters feet behind him?* He calls him the Son of a Murderer, becauſe his Father *Ahab* had killed God's Prophets, and he was like him in diſpoſition. But that which is to our purpoſe is, that he reſiſted the King's Meſſenger: he calls upon the Elders to aſſiſt him, as knowing that God gives no Power to Princes to puniſh the Innocent. And therefore they may defend themſelves.

There is, Firſt, Private defence. Secondly, Publick. Private defence is proved by this Text. It is lawful againſt a ſudden and illegal aſſault of a Meſſenger ſent by the King. If againſt a ſudden, (as one ſaith) why not againſt deliberated and plotted? for they are worſe. This example of *Eliſha* is brought to prove the lawfulneſs of uſing force againſt a King in uſing violence. Prayers and Tears are very good means againſt tyranny, but they are not the only means. To kneel down, and ſay, *Lord help us*, and not ſtretch forth an hand to help our ſelves, is not to truſt God's Provi-

Providence, but to tempt God, and to try whether he will work a Miracle for our ſafety. It is Preſumption, and not Piety, ſo to truſt to a good Cauſe, as not to uſe all lawful means to maintain it. Here is forcible Oppoſition allowed againſt a Meſſenger Commiſſioned by the King. The Elders are deſired to ſeize him. This act of *Eliſha* was plainly contrary to the King's Command.

Secondly, Becauſe Governours are appointed for the good of the People. *He is the Miniſter of God to thee for good*, Rom. 13.4. *But if thou doſt that which is evil, be afraid: for he beareth not the ſword in vain: for he is the Miniſter of God, a Revenger to execute wrath upon him that doth evil.* He hath not Arbitrary Power, but his Power is limited. And this is the end of his Government, even the welfare of the Kingdom. Now if the Subverſion of the Government be deſigned, and the Deſtruction of the People aimed at by Evil Counſellors, then the Law of God allows, and the Law of Nature requires the People to defend themſelves. The Magiſtrate is the Miniſter of God. He ſuſtains the Perſon of God, as a Legate, (as one gloſſes) and as is the Lord, ſo is the Miniſter. But God doth not puniſh the good, but praiſe them. Therefore the end of Government is, that we may live juſtly and quietly: and that the Body Politick, and Publick Honeſty may be defended. If theſe are violated in an high meaſure, the People are not bound to ſtand ſtill, and have their Throats cut. The Sword is to defend the good, and puniſh the evil: but if the Sword be uſed to the contrary, then the People muſt defend themſelves. Finally, The cauſe of the Inſtitution of Magiſtracy is to defend and honour the Good. This is the call that Magiſtrates have: for they ought not to rule for their own ſakes only, but for the publick good. And they are not poſſeſſors of an unbridled Power, but with ſuch as is for the ſafety of their Subjects.

Thirdly, Becauſe this is a Violation of the Law of Nature. The Subject (as ſeveral Authors ſpeak) may be ſaid to take up Arms, either, Firſt, As an Act of Self-Preſervation. Or, Secondly, As an Act of Juriſdiction exerciſed towards his Prince. The firſt way, we ſay it is lawful: The ſecond way we contend not for it: becauſe Juriſdiction properly ſignifies Power of Office. The Schools out of *Ariſtotle* (ſaith *Wendel. Philoſ. Mor.* b. 1. c. 29.) diſ-

distinguish Natural and Civil right by the Properties. He assigns three Properties of Natural right.

The first is taken from the Efficient. For Natural right hath its Original and Authority from God: who first put it into the Minds of men in the Creation, and after the Fall also in some manner preserved it in the Posterity of the first Men. Hence it is called by *Aristotle*, The first Right, or the first thing that is Just.

The second is from the Force and Efficacy. The Right of Nature is understood by all indued with a sound Mind, and every where among all hath the same Force. Hence it is immutable, and cannot be abrogated.

The third is from the end. The Right of Nature is chiefly referred to Honesty.

There are also three Properties of Civil and Legal Right taken from the same Arguments.

The first is from the Efficient. Civil Right hath its rise and authority from men, by whom it is constituted with common consent, with probable Reasons taken from the Law of Nature, or some Circumstances.

The second is from the Force and Efficacy. This Right obliges no body, before it is established and constituted: but after it is established and confirmed, it begins to oblige under pain of Transgression. Hence it may be changed and abrogated.

The third is from the End. It is chiefly referred to Profit: tho' it presupposeth Honesty from Natural Right.

Here it will not be amiss to lay down a few Definitions, and Rules, for the more ease understanding what we mean by the Law of Nature.

Firstly, There is an Eternal Law, which the Schoolman out of S. *Aug.* (b. 6. *Of Free Will*) describes thus, *The Eternal Law is the highest reason, which we must always obey: by which Evil Men deserve Misery, and Good Men a good Life*: by which that which is Temporal is rightly made, and rightly changed.

From this Eternal Law flows the Law of Nature. And accordingly *Aquinas* tells us, *The Law of Nature is nothing but a Participation of the Eternal Law in the reasonable Creature.* And *Grotius* (saith *Culverwell*) describes it thus, *The Law of Nature is the Dictate of right Reason, shewing that there is Moral filthiness, or Moral necessity in some Act, from the convenience or inconvenience (or disagreement)*

ment) thereof with the reasonable Nature it self: and consequently that such an Act is either forbidden, or commanded by God himself, the Author of Nature. The Laws of Reason (saith the ever-renowned *Hooker*, Eccl. Pol. *b.* 1. *Parag.* 8.) have these Marks to be known by.

First, Such as keep them, resemble most lively in their voluntary acts that very manner of working which Nature her self doth necessarily observe in the course of the whole World. The works of Nature are behooveful, beautiful, without superfluity or defect: even so theirs, if they be so framed according to that which the Law of reason teacheth.

Secondly, Those Laws are investigable by Reason, without help of Revelation supernatural and divine. Finally, in such sort they are investigable, that the knowledge of them is general. The World hath always been acquainted with them. It is not agreed upon by one, or two, or a few, but by all. Which we may not so understand, as if every particular man in the whole world did know and confess whatsoever the Law of Reason doth contain: but this Law is such, that being proposed, no man can reject it as unreasonable and unjust. Again, there is nothing in it, but any man (having natural Perfection of Wit, and ripeness of Judgment) may by Labour and Travel find out. And to conclude, the general Principles thereof are such, as it is not easie to find men ignorant of them.

Now the Primary right of Nature, so called, cannot be changed, because it is written in the hearts of men, as S. *Paul* testifies. Hence it cannot be blotted out, unless Nature be blotted out, and Reason cease to be Reason. No Pope, (saith a witty Author) nor Prince, nor Parliament, nor People, nor Angel, nor Creature can absolve you from it. This Law (*Tully*) doth not put on one Aspect at *Rome*, and another face at *Athens*, but looks upon all Nations and Persons with an impartial eye. It shines upon all Ages and Times, and Conditions, with perpetual Light. It is yesterday, and to day the same for ever. There is but one Lawgiver, one Lord and Supream Judge of this Law, God blessed for evermore.

Natural Right is that which a man knows and can execute without peculiar Institution. And the Primary Right of Nature is that which to know and execute a man is carried by an

an in-bred (*impetus*, or) motion: whose Precepts are as it were born with us.

As for Example, In natural Theology, God is to be worshipped. He will reward the good, and punish the wicked. In Oeconomicks, our Parents are to be honoured. In Politicks, Defend thy self against force. Hence are drawn these Conclusions:

First, No man ought to hurt us, when we are Innocent.

Secondly, If any man indeavours to hurt us, when we are innocent, we may defend our selves.

Thirdly, Neither God, nor Man gives Authority to Governours to hurt the Innocent.

Fourthly, If Governours hurt the Innocent, they may defend themselves by the Law of Nature. So that *Rom.* 13. is to be understood of Authority, Power, or Jurisdiction in it self, according to the first Institution: as also when it is lawfully laid upon any person. For otherwise when it is either wrongfully taken, or unjustly used, it may be resisted in divers cases: for, then it is not Lawful Authority. May Papists take up Arms with Royal Countenance, and Privilege, and Prerogative, against Law, and to destroy Law? And may not Protestants take up Arms to defend their Laws? Surely he must needs be full of Prejudice, very malicious, or very weak in his Judgment, who cannot see the unreasonableness of the one, and the reasonableness of the other. All Nations in all Ages, by the very Light of Nature, have constantly defended themselves by force of Arms, when their Princes have turned Tyrants, and by their Instruments sought to spoil them of their Liberties, Privileges and Estates. What Nation ever denied Defensive Arms against the unjust Incroachments, Invasions, and Oppressions of their Princes to be Lawful? In *England* the Barons, Prelates and Commons took a Solemn Oath, to maintain their Laws, Liberties, and Charter, yea, and to wage War against the King, if he refused, and to compel him to confirm their Charter in the year 1214. Likewise in King *Henry* the Third's days, in the year 1258: and they threatned Death to all that resisted. Again, in the reign of King *Edward* the Second, they confederated to live and die together for Justice, and to their Power to destroy the Traitors of the Realm, especially the two *Spencer*'s.

All the Reformed Churches have taken Arms to defend themselves. The *Lutheran* Churches against the Emperor *Charles* 5th, and they were justified by *Luther*, *Melancthon*, and other Divines. The Protestants in *France* defended themselves against the *French* King, 1559. The *Netherland* Provinces against the Duke of *Alva*, and the Spanish Tyranny. And Queen *Elizabeth*, King *James* the First, and King *Charles* the First, did countenance and aid all these. Which (any well-minded man ought to presume) they would not have done so constantly and deliberately, if they had thought Defensive Arms had not been Lawful.

And Dr. *Bilson* (who was a zealous Defender of our Church and Realm, both against the *Papists* and against the *Puritans*, in his Book of *The True Difference between Christian Subjection and Unchristian Rebellion*, Perused and allowed by Publick Authority, *P.* 3. Page with me 279.) saith, *I will not rashly pronounce all that resist to be Rebels.* The Case may fall out even in a Christian Kingdom where the People may plead their right against the Prince, and not be charged with Rebellion. If the Prince should go about to subject his Kingdom to a Foreign Realm, or change the Form of the Commonwealth from Impery to Tyranny; or neglect the Laws established by common consent of Prince and People, to execute his own pleasure. In these and other Cases, which might be named, if the Nobles and Commons joyn together to defend their ancient and accustomed Liberty, Regiment, and Laws, they may not well be counted Rebels.

Fifthly, The Doctrine of *Passive Obedience* and *Non-resistance* is the high way to bring in *Popery* and *Arbitrary Power*. For if the King is a *Papist*, and Zealous for the Propagation of his Religion, the *Jesuites*, who account Protestants *damned Hereticks*, will never cease to stir up such a Prince to promote his own Principles, and to discountenance those, that resolutely adhere to the established Religion. And what will Prayers and Tears signifie to such a Prince? when his Prejudice, or his erroneous Conscience, or his Priests, or his Desire of being Absolute, or some such like Affections furiously carry him to promote the *Catholick Cause*, as they call it. Yea, this Perswasion may tempt a just Prince other ways, (for all Kings have Flatterers) to forget his Faith and Promise, and to take such courses, as will in the event ruin and subvert his Crown and Dignity. I wish Experience did not confirm this.

Now

Now to ſay, We may and ought to deny Obedience to ſuch Commands of the Prince as are unlawful by the Law of God, (as all grant) yea, by the eſtabliſhed Laws of the Kingdom, (as few will deny). This doth no way deſtroy Arbitrary Government, but rather erect it; (Saith a Learned Author.) For Government is not ſaid to be not Arbitrary, becauſe the Subjects may deny in word, and ſo left to ſuffer. For then the *Turkiſh* Government is not Arbitrary: for when the Great *Turk* Commands his Subjects to do any thing, if they will deny and ſuffer for their denial, they may, and do ſometimes deny their Obedience. If there be Laws whereby a King is to rule, which he ſhall command his Subjects to break, and his Subjects are neither bound to obey, nor ſuffer by him, then his Government is not Arbitrary. But if there be Laws made, and he may inforce his Subjects either to keep them, or break them, and puniſh them at his pleaſure that ſhall refuſe, and the whole Kingdom bound in Conſcience to ſuffer whatſoever he ſhall inflict for not breaking thoſe Laws, then is his Government Arbitrary. For Arbitrary Government is that whereby a Prince doth rule *ex arbitrio*: which he doth, when either there is no Law to rule by but his own Will, or when he hath a Power to break thoſe Laws at his will, and to puniſh the Subject at his pleaſure for not breaking them. And in truth, this latter is rather an Arbitrary Government than the former, as it ſhews more Liberty in the will, that it hath a Power to act, when Reaſon perſwades to the contrary, than if there were no Reaſon diſſwading, and elſe there ſhould be no Arbitrary Government in the world. For no State but hath ſome Laws whereby they rule and are ruled, even the very *Indians*: only here lies the Arbitrarineſs of a Government, that notwithſtanding the Law, the Ruler may *pro arbitrio* force his Subjects according to his own pleaſure.

In our preſent Caſe (*December* 88.) we may well conſider theſe things.

Firſt, The Matter of Fact is evident, That the King's evil Counſellors, Popiſh Prieſts and Jeſuits have tyrannized over us, and oppreſſed us in an high meaſure. This is known to the whole Nation.

Secondly,

Secondly, I believe in my Conſcience that it is the moſt Heroick and Virtuous Action that Mortal Man can do to deliver poor Innocents from Tyranny and Oppreſſion.

Thirdly, The Prince of *Orange*, under God, hath been the great Inſtrument of our Deliverance from Popiſh Tyranny, and Slavery.

Fourthly, We ought to give Thanks to God firſt, and then to his Servant, our *David*, the Captain of our *Iſrael*, for ſaving us from our Enemies.

In ſhort, This Cauſe, (which I account God's Cauſe, and the Cauſe of the whole Nation) and the Prince of *Orange*, (now our moſt Gracious Soveraign, whom I account God's Inſtrument) have conquered my Heart: and conſequently ſhall have my Tongue, my Pen, the utmoſt of my Strength and Zeal. Yea, I hope through God's grace, that I ſhall neither be aſhamed, nor afraid to lay down my life for the Proteſtant Religion and Intereſt, and the Liberties, Laws, and Properties of my Native Country.

There are ſome Objections, taken from Examples out of Scripture, which ſeem to favour the contrary Opinion, but I need not, nor cannot conſider them all: and I perſwade my ſelf that they are obviated by what I have ſaid. And I am ſure that he that confirms Truth, by it confounds Error.

Yet I ſhall conſider the main Objection. *See* (ſay many) *David's behaviour to Saul*, 1 Sam. 24. *Ye know that King* Saul *perſecuted* David *cauſeleſly: he ſought his life for no reaſon.* David *was a good and loyal Subject, neither did* Saul's *violence and perſecution tempt him, or prevail with him to change his Loyalty, or forget his Duty.* David *did but cut off the skirt of* Saul's *Robe privily, and his heart ſmote him for it. And he ſaid to his Men,* The Lord forbid that I ſhould do this thing unto my Maſter the Lord's Anointed, to ſtretch forth my hand againſt him. *And he hindered his Servants from hurting* Saul. *And when he called to* Saul, *he ſaid,* My Lord the King. And when *Saul* looked behind him, *David* ſtooped with his face to the earth, and bowed himſelf. *He called him* my Father, *which is a Title of reverence. Inſomuch that* Saul, *his Enemy, was melted into kind Expreſſions by his goodneſs and righteouſneſs. Read and conſider the whole Chapter at your leiſure.* David *heaped Coals of fire on* Saul's *head, as the Apoſtles Phraſe is,*

not

not to burn, conſume, or deſtroy him, but to win him to a good Opinion, both of his Innocence, and Loyalty. Hence they infer, that the Supream Magiſtrate, the King, though he ſuffers his Subjects to be never ſo much oppreſſed, is not to be reſiſted, but we muſt ſubmit with Patience, commit our Cauſe to God by Prayer, and make our Appeal to Heaven, who judgeth righteouſly, and ſuffer our Throats to be cut, or flee away, leave our Poſterity to Slavery, and ſo expect a Reward in Heaven for ſuffering.

I Anſwer. The Subject (as ſeveral Divines ſay) may be conſidered two ways. Firſt, Diviſively. Secondly, Conjunctively. The Subject conſidered Diviſively hath always applied himſelf to Prayers and Tears, the oppreſſion being only Perſonal, and perhaps without remedy. Some Inconveniences and Grievances will be in the beſt Government, and we muſt not think to have all that we deſire, or perhaps may really deſerve in this world. And therefore we ought to get Publick Spirits, and hate Private Deſigns and Self-intereſt, when it would deſtroy the Publick Good.

Secondly, The Subject may be conſidered Conjunctively. And thus when the Oppreſſion is General, and Univerſal almoſt, then the People muſt look to their own Preſervation: all Government being for the good of the whole Body Politick. And in this caſe the ſafety of the People is the Higheſt Law. All Government, and all Laws ſuppoſe this as a Principle or Foundation.

Again, The Subject is ſaid to take up Arms againſt the King, either, Firſt, As againſt the King's Perſon: and of this we do not ſpeak. Thus *who can ſtretch forth his hand againſt the Lords Anointed, and be guiltleſs?* Hence it may be inferred, That private Aſſaſſination of a Prince is wicked and abominable. Secret, or open Murder of any Man, much more of a Prince is an heinous Crime. We are taught by this Example, that the hand is not to be lift up againſt the Magiſtrate: but ſtill *David* defended himſelf by force of Arms.

Some Expoſitors (as I find in the Author of the *Synopſis*) ſay, That *David* had Power to kill *Saul*. Power was given by theſe words, *v.* 14. *The men of* David *ſaid unto him, Behold the day of which the Lord ſaid unto thee, Behold, I will deliver thine Enemy into thine hand, that thou maiſt do to him as ſhall ſeem good to thee.*

He

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He that is invaded, may prevent the Invader; as *Leſſius*, and S. *Thomas* teach. (*Lavater.*) No Subject or Private perſon (ſaith a great Divine) may invade a Tyrant, (without lawful Defence) tho' he hath occaſion: as *David* could indeed kill *Saul*, whom yet he diſmiſſed: becauſe there was not extream Neceſſity. *I will not* (ſaith he) *put forth my hand againſt my Lord, for he is the Lords Anointed*, v. 10. For God knows to draw Tyrants to Puniſhment, either by the ordinary Power of every Kingdom, or by any other miraculous way. The Conſequence (ſaith another rational Divine) that follows from hence is clearly this; That no private man in his own Cauſe (for ſo was *David*'s then) by his own Power may ſeize upon the Perſon of a King in an offenſive way, eſpecially ſuch a King, who had his Call immediately from Heaven: what farther Conſequence, that concerns our buſineſs in hand, let any ſhew from this place that can.

And ſome ſay, That *David* aroſe with a purpoſe to ſlay *Saul*: but changed his Mind in the midſt of his Proceedings. But I think that *David* was but a private Perſon, and ſo had no Authority: It is plain that *David*'s heart ſmote him, becauſe he had cut off *Saul*'s Skirt, *v.* 5. Some think his Conſcience checked him for the thought of his heart to kill the King. But ſtill his Conſcience never checked him for keeping men in Arms to defend himſelf from *Saul*'s oppreſſion: for this he did many Years. The Perſon of the King ought to be Sacred; but our perſons and lives alſo ought to be defended. We may zealouſly defend our own Innocence.

Secondly, The Subjects may be ſaid to take up Arms as againſt the King's Command for their own Preſervation: ſo we affirm it, That it is lawful for Subjects Conjunctively conſidered, (or when the Laws of the Country are generally violated, and the Oppreſſion is almoſt Epidemical) to take up Arms for Self-preſervation againſt the King's Commands. And juſtifie their Cauſe by the Law of Nature, and right Reaſon: which is not only the Common Law of *England*; but of all Nations. For the Law of Nature (as *Alex. de Ales* ſaith) is in us without our Co-operation, and of God's putting in and impreſſion. Thus having heard my Judgment, and our preſent Cauſe defended, pray have a little Patience to hear my Affection.

It

It is written, *Pſal.* 2. 11. *Rejoyce with trembling.* Firſt, Let us rejoyce, that God of his infinite goodneſs hath delivered us from our mercileſs Enemies; from a Religion ſo falſe, and from ſuch fooliſh Counſellors, as would have made us Slaves.

But, Secondly, Let it be with trembling, when we conſider, Firſt, Our own ſinfulneſs and unworthineſs of ſo good and gracious a Providence.

Secondly, When we conſider the diſmal Calamities that have befallen His Sacred Majeſty through evil Counſellors. Let us rejoyce that the ſnare is broken, and we are delivered: let us tremble to think of God's righteous Judgments. *O that my head were waters, and mine eyes a fountain of tears, that I might weep day and night for the calamities that have befallen this* Nation, *and the* Royal Family, as the Prophet ſpeaks, *Jer.* 9. 1. Our Religion teacheth us Love, Goodneſs, Mercy, and Compaſſion. Let us not rejoyce at the Calamities of our Enemies; but at God's wonderful Mercy to us, that our Religion, our Laws, our Liberties, our Lives, and our Poſterity ſhould be freed from the ſink of all Mankind, the Tyranny of Jeſuits, and blood-thirſty Papiſts. Let us bewail our Sins, the Cauſe of Afflictions. Neceſſity, nothing but Neceſſity to defend our ſelves, and our Religion, and our Poſterity from Popery and Slavery, forced us to this laſt Remedy. I rejoyce that we are eſcaped: I am ſorry even for the trouble of our very Enemies. Well then, let us Sin no more, leſt a worſe thing befall us. It is true, (as the Prophet ſaith) *The whole head is ſick, and the whole heart faint. From the ſole of the foot even to the head, there is no ſoundneſs in it, but wounds and bruiſes, and putrifying ſores,* Iſai. 1. 5, 6. Sacred Majeſty, laid in the duſt, requires our Tears: our Religion and our Laws revived, require our joy. Let us be grieved that the Crown is fallen from our Heads, for we have ſinned: Let us rejoyce that God's Honour and Glory is manifeſted in the Salvation of his Church. And as a Teſtimony of our Thankfulneſs to God.

Firſt, Let us be humble and lowly in heart, aſcribing all our Deliverances to God's gracious Providence over his Church.

Secondly, Let us be merciful to others in their diſtreſs. Let us lighten every burden, and break every yoke. Let us be patient towards all men, and zealous of nothing more than good works, and eaſie to be intreated in a good Matter. Let us not opreſs

the Poor and Needy: Let us eaſe Tender Conſciences, and perform our Vows made in our diſtreſs, and do as we would be done by. Let us be wiſe as Serpents, and harmleſs as Doves. Let us practice that Religion, which we have defended with our utmoſt Zeal and Lives. And this conſiſts in Faith and Good Works; Love and Peace; Courteſie and Mercy, that Glory may be to God in Heaven, on Earth Peace, and good Will towards Men.

Thirdly, Let us ſtrive for Union among our ſelves. A Kingdom divided againſt it ſelf cannot ſtand. Let us joyn againſt the common Enemy of our Faith and Religion. Let us lay aſide our Animoſities, and not ſtrive for private Intereſt, but for the Publick good. Let us ſeek Peace, and inſue it, as thoſe who love life, and may ſee good days. Let us imitate *David*'s Example, not ſeeking private Revenge: but the Peace of our *Jeruſalem*, and the Proſperity of our *Sion*, that is, the Happineſs of Church and State. Let us heap Coals of Fire on our Adverſaries, giving them what they denied to us, the tendereſt thing in the World, except God's Glory, even Liberty of Conſcience. It is true, (as *Solomon* ſaith) *He that winneth Souls is wiſe.* But this muſt be done by Arguments convincing the Judgment, not by force and violence. He that wins the Heart, gains a ſure Friend; but he that forceth the outward man, loſeth with great diſadvantage what he ſeemed to have gained, when the Compulſion ceaſeth. Faction may be promoted by rigorous Execution of Laws: but Religion never got footing but by Reaſon and Argument. Not that I am againſt preſerving true Religion by Civil Laws, if any be ſo wicked as to invade the Rights of the Eſtabliſhed Religion, but I am againſt Perſecution for Conſcience ſake. We have all ſuffered for our Diviſions. Let this not be a price in the hand of a Fool (as *Solomon* ſaith, *Prov.* 17. 16.) to get wiſdom, *ſeeing he hath no heart to it.* I hope God hath taught all Proteſtants by their Afflictions to lay hold of this preſent Opportunity, to Unite: elſe we are very mean Proficients in the School of Chriſt. It is true, very few (or perhaps none) of us here preſent this day before God, have ſuffered in our Perſons, Eſtates, or Livelihoods. But if we are Chriſtians, we ſhould have a Sympathy and Fellow-feeling with our Brethren in Affliction; we ſhould be grieved for the Afflictions of *Joſeph*, I mean, for the Calamities, Diſgraces, Reproaches, and Impriſonment of our Fathers

thers and Brethren; of the Nobility, Gentry, Clergy, and Commons, who oppoſed Popiſh Innovations and Arbitrary Power. And even we our ſelves were juſt at the Pits brink, almoſt fallen: but God, who heard the Publican's Prayer, hath been merciful to us Sinners. If we are ſtubborn, obſtinate, and will nothing relent, God can yet conſume us by ſending an evil Spirit among us: but I hope there is a Bleſſing behind for us, and our Poſterity. If we are Atheiſts, Neuters, or Luke-warm; like the Church of *Laodicea*, neither hot, nor cold; if it be indifferent to us, whether God, or *Baal*; the Ark, or *Dagon*; Chriſt Jeſus, or Saints and Images be invocated, and worſhipped; if we care not whether Papiſts, or Proteſtants rule over us, then our Condition muſt needs be miſerable. But let us take *Jacob*'s Advice to his Sons, *ſee that you fall not out by the way.* Let us with one heart and one voice earneſtly contend for the Faith that was once delivered to the Saints. In ſhort, if we have wiſe Heads, and Chriſtian Hearts and Spirits, we may eaſily unite. We read in Holy Scripture of an hot diſſention between *Paul* and *Barnabas*, and they ſeparated one from another, but it continued not long. Let us be Engliſh Men, and Chriſtian Spirits, Valiant for the Truth, and full of Mercy and good Fruits. We took up Arms, not to hurt others, but ſave our ſelves.

Let it then be known to all Men, what the (late) King is reported to ſay of us, when he returned to *London*, that though we hated his Religion, yet we loved, honoured, and pitied his Perſon, ſo grievouſly miſled by fooliſh and evil Counſellors.

Fourthly, Let us beware of a Relapſe into the ſame Miſery. Let us be joyful, but not ſecure and careleſs: Such a condition ruined the men of *Laiſh*. Let us ſo triumph, as to be ſober and watchful. For if we fall again, who ſhall raiſe us up? A Relapſe, we know, is worſe than the firſt Sickneſs. Therefore let us pray for Men over us, who fear God, and hate Covetouſneſs; Men of Knowledge, and Men of Courage; Men of Fidelity and Merit; ſuch as ceaſe to do Evil, and learn to do Well; that ſeek Judgment, and relieve the oppreſſed. So God will rejoyce over us to do us good, and will never leave us, nor forſake us. *Amen.*

Daniel 5. 20.

But when his heart was lifted up, and his mind hardened in Pride, he was depoſed from his kingly Throne, and they took his glory from him.

IN theſe words we may obſerve theſe two general parts.

Firſt, *Nebuchadnezzar's* Crime; *His heart was lifted up, and his mind hardened in pride.*

Secondly, His Correction and Judgment; *He was depoſed from his kingly Throne, and they took his glory from him.*

For the illuſtration of the former, I may briefly conſider, Firſt, Who this *Nebuchadnezzar* was. Secondly, Wherein his Pride chiefly conſiſted.

Firſt, I ſhall conſider who this *Nebuchadnezzar* was. He was Emperour of *Babylon*, the Queen of Nations, and the moſt famous City of the world. And he was the greateſt Monarch of his Age. He fought againſt the Syrians, Phenicians and Egyptians. He made the Ammonites, Moabites, Philiſtines, Idumeans, and all *Egypt* Tributaries. He conquered *Tyrus* alſo: As ye may ſee in *Jeremy* and *Ezekiel*: He took the City of *Jeruſalem*, and put *Jehoiachin* to death. He made *Jehoiachin* (or *Jeconiah*, or *Coniah*, *Jer.* 2. 24.) King, and returned to *Babylon*. In the eighth year of his Reign, going back to *Jeruſalem*, (for he feared that *Jeconiah* would rebel, and revenge the death of his Father) he took *Jeconias*, *Mordecai*, and three thouſand Jews of the Nobility, and carried them Captives to *Babylon*. Nine years after he came again to *Jeruſalem*, and beſieged the City, becauſe of the Impiety and Rebellion of *Zedekiah*, and within a while utterly deſtroyed the City of *Jeruſalem*, carrying then the Veſſels and Ornaments of the Temple to *Babylon*. But it is thought that he took *Daniel*, and his Companions captive, and brought them to *Babylon* in his firſt Expedition.

Secondly

Secondly, I ſhall conſider wherein his Pride chiefly conſiſted: I ſhall name theſe three things. Firſt, In not giving God the glory of all his Victories. Secondly, In commanding Image-worſhip. Thirdly, In perſecuting the Servants of God for not worſhipping Images.

Firſt, *Nebuchadnezzars* Pride conſiſted in not giving God the glory of all his Victories. God proſpered *Nebuchadnezzar*, but he ſacrificed to his own Net, that is, he aſcribed it to his own Policy, Strength and Wiſdom, and did not give glory to God: This was his Pride. *Thou, O King!* (ſaith *Daniel*, *c.* 2. *v.* 37.) *art King of Kings, for the God of Heaven hath given thee a Kingdom, power, and ſtrength, and glory.* And whereſoever the Children of Men dwell, the Beaſts of the Field, and the Fowls of Heaven hath he given into thine hand, and hath made thee Ruler over them all. Notwithſtanding this, the King gloried in an Arm of fleſh, and Boaſted in the multitude of his Hoſts.

Secondly, His Pride conſiſted in commanding Image-worſhip. Of this we read, *c.* 3. *He made an Image of Gold, and commanded all to fall down, and worſhip it.* It was not the Image of *Bel* or of other Gods of *Babylon*, but of *Nebuchadnezzar* himſelf. Neither was this unuſual among the proud Heathen Tyrants. For *Alexander* the Great, *Antiochus Epiphanes*, *Caligula*, and others, would be worſhipped as Gods, while they lived.

Thirdly, *Nebuchadnezzars* Pride conſiſted in perſecuting the Servants of God for not worſhipping his Image. He was not contented, that the Heathens, who had been bred up in Slavery and Idolatry, worſhipped the Image, but he muſt force Gods Servants againſt their Conſciences to fall down and worſhip alſo. *Maldonate* (ſaith *Cor. à Lap.*) probably conjectures that the King had erected this Image upon the ſuggeſtion of the Chaldees, who envied the three Jews, *Shadrach*, *Meſhach* and *Abednego*, the Government of the Province of *Babylon*: and therefore to make them odious to the King, and turn them out of Office, they put the King upon making this Image, which they knew that the Jews would by no means worſhip, and thereby the King would be provoked againſt them, as it fell out. They ſerved the King faithfully in the Truſt committed to them, but they obeyed God rather than Man; and therefore told the King, that they could not commit Idolatry to pleaſe him: For they were the Servants of God,

God, and muſt adore him only with Religious Worſhip. This incenſed the King againſt them, and in his wrath he commanded them to be caſt into the burning fiery Furnace, and that it ſhould be heated ſeven times more than it was wont to be heated. The Chaldees accuſed them, and with all malicious inſinuation ſtirred up the King againſt them: As it is the nature of envious and wicked men to inflame Princes againſt the true Worſhippers of God. But the Jews, notwithſtanding all this fury, and threats, and cruelty, continued reſolute, and perſevered in the Faith, and God miraculouſly delivered them.

When God pleaſes to ſhew his power, the proud Helpers muſt ſtoop under him. They deſtroy themſelves that go about to deſtroy Gods Servants. The flame of fire ſlew thoſe men that took them up, *c. 3. v. 22.*

The righteous is bold as a Lion, ſaith *Solomon*. They anſwered the King with a mighty courage: As who ſhould ſay, It is plain, O King! that there is only one God, whom we worſhip, and he can deliver us out of thine hand; but if not, yet we will worſhip him only, and uot thy Idols. Obſerve here the undaunted reſolution, liberty, fortitude, and courage of theſe three Servants of God.

I go on to the ſecond general part of the Text, *Nebuchadnezzars* Correction and Judgment, *He was depoſed from his kingly Throne, and they took his glory from him.*

Here I ſhall ſhew theſe three things.

1. By whom he was depoſed.
2. Why he was depoſed.
3. That it was juſt.

1. By whom *Nebuchadnezzar* was depoſed. 1. By God. 2. By his Subjects.

1. He was depoſed by God. Tho' God is not the Author of the evil of ſin, yet he is the principal Efficient in the evil of puniſhment. Now this was the puniſhment of the King for his Pride, Oppreſſion and Impiety. And the Prophet tells, *Pſal. 75. 6, 7. Promotion cometh neither from the Eaſt, nor from the Weſt, nor from the South. But God is the Judge: he putteth down one, and ſetteth up another.* This the King acknowledgeth, *c. 4. v. 2, 3. I thought it good to ſhew the ſigns and the wonders that the high God hath wrought towards me. How great are his ſigns? and how mighty are his wonders? his Kingdom is everlaſting, and his Dominion is from generation to generation.* And

v. 17.

v. 17. *This matter is by the Decree of the Watchers, and the Demand by the word of the holy ones.* The Watchers, that is, the Angels of God, who are God's Inſtruments and Servants, in puniſhing the evil, and rewarding the good. See *v.* 31,32. God, who gives grace to the humble, reſiſts, or fights againſt the proud.

This may comfort thoſe that are oppreſſed. God is the Avenger of all ſuch. *I, even I am he that comforteth you* (ſaith God by the Prophet, *Iſa.* 51. 12,13.) *Who art thou, that thou ſhouldſt be afraid of a man that ſhall die, and of the Son of man, who ſhall be made as graſs? And forgetteſt the Lord thy Maker, that hath ſtretched forth the Heavens, and laid the foundations of the Earth? And haſt feared continually every day, becauſe of the fury of the Oppreſſor, as if he were ready to deſtroy; and where is the fury of the Oppreſſor?*

2. *Nebuchadnezzar* was depoſed by his own Subjects. *They ſhall drive thee from men. c.* 4. *v.* 25. And if any ſay, this is ſpoken neutrally, Thou ſhalt be driven; yet ſtill here is the perſon underſtood, be it ſpoken neutrally, or impersonally. Some body muſt do it. And *v.* 33. *He was driven from men.*

By whom? I anſwer. He was either driven out by Tumult, as it often happens to Tyrants; or by the Conſpiracy of the Nobles and Commons; or by his Son *Evilmerodach*, who (as the Hebrews report) affected the Kingdom, while his Father lived. Some think that he had oppreſſed, and tyrannically uſed the Chaldeans, Magicians, and Wiſe-men of his Kingdom, becauſe they could not tell his dream. See *c.* 2. *v.* 5. where he threatens that they ſhould be cut in pieces, and their houſes ſhould be made as a dunghill. This Tyranny over their Liberties, Properties, and Lives, ingaged them to depoſe the King according to the Law of Nature.

And this leads me to the ſecond, Why he was depoſed.

1. Becauſe he was in a deep Melancholy, and ſo unable to rule.

2. Becauſe he was a Tyrant and Oppreſſor, and ſo his Subjects would not truſt him with their Liberties and Lives.

1. He was in a deep Melancholy, and ſo unable to Rule. See *c.* 4. *v.* 33. *He was driven from men, and did eat graſs as the Ox, and his body was wet with the dew of Heaven, till his hairs were grown like Eagles feathers, and his nails like Birds claws.* The ſenſe is, that his hair, beard and nails, were very much grown out, becauſe there was no body to cut them, and he himſelf did not think of cutting them, loving the likeneſs of beaſts thro' black Choler or Melancholy.

choly. His heart was changed from mans, and he had a beasts heart given to him, *v.* 16. He was not truly transformed into a beast, as I believe; but, because his imagination was corrupt, and his reason eclipsed, thro' this adust humor, he seemed to himself a beast. And the most learned Physicians speak of this kind of Melancholy: And our own Experience may confirm it in some of our own Age, that have been troubled with Hypochondriack Passions and Melancholy. He remained a man truly; but Humane Sense and Reason, as to the Exercise, was taken from him.

2. He was deposed, because he was a Tyrant and Oppressor, and so his Subjects would not trust him with their Liberties and Lives. His severe and cruel Edict against the Magicians and Wise-men was intolerable, and they could not but resent it. See *c.* 2. *Nebuchadnezzar* dreamed. and forgat his dream, and yet would imperiously and tyrannically force his Magicians to tell the dream, and the interpretation. They make humble supplication to the King, and tell him, that no Ruler ever asked such a thing of any Magician, or Astrologer, or Chaldean. None but God could reveal such secrets. But notwithstanding the King was angry and very furious, and commanded to destroy them. This cruelty (as it is thought) stuck in their minds: they treasured it up in their hearts, and, as soon as opportunity served, were glad to throw off his tyrannical Yoke.

The word Magician, (to tell you that by the way) among the Persians, and other Eastern Countries, at first was used in a good sense, for a wise and understanding man; for a Philosopher, who spends his days in contemplation and meditation. These were Astronomers, and Astrologers, or Mathematicians, who by the influence of Stars, and calculating Nativities, foretold many strange things. And, for my part, I believe there is much Truth and Innocence in this Art: at least I am far from condemning so many wise men of all Ages: But as for Sorcerers, Diviners, *&c.* they are deluders of the People, full of Imposture and Superstition. And this sort of Diabolick creatures were forbidden by *Moses* Law, *Levit.* 19. 31. *Regard not them that have familiar Spirits, neither seek after Wizards, to be defiled by them.* And *Deut.* 18. 10, 11. *There shall not be found among you any one that makes his Son, or his Daughter to pass through the fire, or that useth Divination, or an Observer of times, or an Inchanter, or a Witch, or a Charmer, or a Consulter with familiar Spirits,*

or

or a Wizard, or a Necromancer. (But to return) This Demand and Decree of the King in it self was unjuſt: for man, though moſt skilful, and moſt wiſe, (*Lap.*) cannot reveal ſecret dreams, eſpecially already paſt, much leſs their ſignification. But ſome, who write of *Oneirocritticks*, do own that great Conjectures may be made from ſome certain and unwonted dreams. A learned Author ſaith, That the Chief Prieſts of the Chaldeans were addicted to Aſtrology: And you will eaſily believe, that Prieſts do not love to be oppreſſed, and murdered without cauſe. This was (ſaith *Synop.* out of *Calvin*) a beaſtly rage of the King, becauſe he demanded that which was above the power of man, and that which the Chaldeans never arrogated to themſelves. Yet this was a reward of their arrogance, becauſe they aſſumed to themſelves more than was meet.

3. I ſhall ſhew that it was juſt to depoſe *Nebuchadnezzar.*

To this purpoſe we muſt conſider,

1. That all Government is a Truſt.

2. That all Government is for the ſafety and good of the Community.

3. That there may be ſuch crimes, as may forfeit the Crown and Throne, and reduce all to firſt Principles.

1. We muſt conſider that all Government is a Truſt. The Dominion of one man over another is by conſent, and is founded in Covenant. All men are free by the Law of Nature to chuſe what kind of Government they think moſt convenient. And the Poſitive Law of God hath left this to their Election. The Nomination of the perſon, and the Limitation of the power is originally and radically in the Community. Hence ſome Nations have Lords, Dukes, *&c.* their ſupream Governours. Some Nations have Kings by Election every Reign: Others have Succeſſion in one Family. Some have Queens to rule over them; others will not allow Women to reign. Some are abſolute Monarchs; others are limited. Some have Ariſtocratical; others Democratical Government. And almoſt all Nations vary in theſe Circumſtances.

It is true, Authority is from God. *There is no Power but of God,* ſaith St. *Paul*, *Rom.* 13. 1. And, *By me Kings reign, and Princes decree Juſtice*, ſaith God by *Solomon*, *Prov.* 8. 15. But tho' the Donation of the Power is of God, yet the Deſignation of the Perſon, and the Limitation of the Power, how much, or how little, or in what

manner Mankind muſt be ruled, and give Obedience, and owe Submiſſion, is wholly by Poſitive Law and Agreement at the firſt Conſtitution, or afterwards.

Thus we read, 2 Sam. 5.3. *All the Elders of* Iſrael *came to the King to* Hebron, *and King* David *made a League with them in* Hebron *before the Lord: and they anointed* David *King over* Iſrael. Here was an Aſſembly or Parliament, who choſe *David* King and covenanted with him. God, and Man are not oppoſite, but ſubordinate in this caſe. That which is of God (ſaith a learned Divine) may be of Man alſo. For the ſecond cauſe doth not exclude the firſt, or contrarily. Becauſe the fruits and increaſe of the Earth are obtained by the care and labour of Man, therefore are they not given of God? So that as the Prophets and Apoſtles in old time were called immediately by God, not by Men: but other Paſtors and Biſhops of the Church, being not immediately called by God, but by men, yet ceaſe not to have their Vocation from God. Becauſe God ceaſeth not to do what he doth by means. As God deſigned *Timothy* Biſhop, not immediately, as *Paul*: but by the Impoſition of the hands of *Paul*, and the Presbytery. So God in old time by an immediate call ſet Magiſtrates, and ſome Kings upon the Throne, as *Moſes*, *Joſhua*, the *Judges*, *David*, *Jehu*, &c. But he gave Power and doth not ceaſe to give Power to others, as to the ſeventy Elders, by Man's counſel and means, and that according to the Laws and received Cuſtoms of the People: either by Election and the conſent of the Senate, as now the *Roman* Empire; or by the Suffrages of the People, as Conſuls, Governours of Cities, either meerly, or mixtly Democratical: or by the will of the Souldiers, as the old Empire of *Rome*: or finally by Hereditary Succeſſion, as the Kings of *France*, of *Spain*, and of *Great Britain*, &c. and the Princes of the Empire. For there is no Power but of God. And certainly the Authority of one, or a few, in humane Conſideration would not ſuffice to govern and contain ſo many in Duty, and many times very cruel and evil Men, unleſs there were ſomething of the hand of God in it. Therefore God himſelf is the proper and firſt Cauſe of Magiſtracy, tho' Men are the next Cauſe.

The Prince is bound (ſaith no mean Divine) to look to the ſafety and welfare of the Kingdom, as is agreed by all. And therefore he is bound to it, becauſe he receives this Power originally (I ſpeak not in oppoſition to God, but, I ſay, originally) from the People: them-

themſelves: as appears by the Government of *Judah*, and the Kings of *Iſrael*. For, *Judg.* 8. 22. The men of *Iſrael* came to *Gideon* to make him their King. It is true, *Gideon* refuſed this offer (ſaith Mr. *Rogers* in his Commentary) with great reſolution and wiſdom, telling them *that the Lord ſhould rule over them*, v. 23. His meaning was, that the Order that God had ſet (of Governing by ſuch as had no continued Government) ſhould ſtand, and not be perverted by or for him, or his: but contrarily, to his Power he would hinder it. And God reigned indeed in the Commonwealth of *Iſrael*, which flouriſhed in *Gideon*'s time: wherein the Elders were choſen by common conſent: ſome Eccleſiaſtical, to give the meaning of the Law: and others Civil and Temporal, as men call it, to rule the people thereby, *&c.* And if any War fell out, the Lord himſelf ſtirred up Guides and Judges: and they were not choſen (I ſuppoſe, he means only, or in a uſual courſe) by Men, as appears, *c.* 1. *v.* 1. neither did their Children ſucceed them. And thus the Lord both in Peace and War ruled over them: and ſo *Gideon* meant that the Office of a Judge was no ordinary Magiſtracy, ſuch as the King is: but a Temporary and Occaſional, much like to the Dictatorſhip of the *Romans*, in reſpect of the uſe whereto it ſerved: tho' otherwiſe of divine Election, immediately, not by Men. And, *Judg.* 9. 6. They gathered together, and made *Abimelech* their King. And, *Judg.* 11. 8, 9, 10, 11. the people covenanted with *Jephtha*, and made him their King. And as for *Saul*, (tho' he was deſigned by God for the Kingdom, yet) the people themſelves choſe the kind of their Government firſt, when they ſaid, *Give us a King to rule over us after the manner of the Nations.* After that God had anointed *Saul*, it is ſaid, 1 *Sam.* 11. 15. *And all the people went to* Gilgal, *and there they made* Saul *King before the Lord in* Gilgal. And as for *David*, tho' he was anointed King by *Samuel*, yet we find that he continued ſubject unto *Saul* after that. And, 2 *Sam.* 2. He came to *Hebron*, & thither the men of *Judah* came, and there they anointed *David* King over the Houſe of *Judah*, v. 4. After that he was thus anointed by *Judah* to be King over them, yet he did not rule over *Iſrael*, till the other Tribes alſo went out and made him King over them, 1 *Chro.* 12. 38. It is ſaid, *That all theſe men of war came with a perfect heart to* Hebron *to make* David *King over all* Iſrael. And as for *Solomon*, (tho' he was deſigned by God to the Kingdom, yet) it is ſaid of him alſo, 1 *Chro.* 29. 22. That

all the Congregation did eat and drink before the Lord, and they made *Solomon* the Son of *David* King the second time, and anointed him to the Lord to be Chief Governour. *Solomon* being dead, 2 *Chro.* 10. 1. it is said of *Rehoboam*, that he went to *Shechem*, where all *Israel* came to make him King. And in *Deut.* 17. 15. *Thou shalt in any wise set him King over thee, whom the Lord thy God shall chuse. One from among thy brethren shalt thou set King over thee.* The Election of a King is attributed to God, but the Constitution to the People. God's choice, and the Peoples choice are consistent. So God approved *Saul* and *David*, and they were anointed by the Prophet *Samuel*, and chosen by the People also. In the Commonwealth, Magistrates are called the Ordinance of Man, or an Humane Creation, 1 *Pet.* 2. 13. Because, tho' Magistracy in general be the Ordinance of God, yet this or that special kind of Magistracy, whether Monarchy, Aristocracy, *&c.* is of man. Governours covenant to defend the people, as well as the people covenant to obey them: and the Obligation of Conscience is consequent to this Agreement. And our present Sovereign Lord and Lady King *William* and Queen *Mary*, have as good a Title, and we are bound in Conscience as willingly and heartily to honour and obey them, according to the Law of God, and our Country, as ever we were to submit to any Prince.

2. We must consider that all Government is for the safety and good of the Community. We must eye (as one saith in another case) the end, which always steers the Action among such as be Agents by counsel. In all Combinations there is, and will be some common end: that end must have means to attain it: to these means and rules each man must bind himself to attend, and in case he doth not, to submit to another, to be directed and reformed or else to yield to the whole, that he may be censured and removed therefrom. For otherwise the End cannot be attained, nor the Means attended with profit, or any powerful success in reason. For if each man may do what is good in his own eyes, proceeding according to his own pleasure, so that none may cross him, or controul him by any power, there must of necessity follow Distraction and Desolation of the whole, when each man hath liberty to follow his own Imagination and humoursome devices, and seeks his Particular, but oppose one another, and all prejudice the Publick. Mutual subjection is as it were the sinews of Society, by which it is sustained.

ſuſtained. As for the Governour, S. *Paul* ſaith plainly, *He is the Miniſter of God to thee for good*, Rom. 13. 4. This is the End of Government, That the People may be happy. The Preſervation of our Lives, Liberties, and Properties is the Reaſon of Rule and Subjection. *See the former Diſcourſe.* Kings are not ſet over us to make us in a worſe condition than we were by the Law of Nature: (which I am ſure is the unwritten Law of God, only written in the heart, as S. *Paul* ſaith) but that we may be ſafe, and live without fear of wicked men, who have extinguiſhed the Light of Nature and Reaſon. And like Brutes, that have no underſtanding; like Beaſts of prey, Lions and Wolves would devour the poor innocent man; the good and righteous, who lives according to his reaſon and conſcience. It concerns all Mankind with utmoſt zeal to preſerve their Laws; for otherwiſe the Sons of *Belial* will conſpire, and oppreſs the poor righteous man: and they will make their Strength the Law of Juſtice, as the Son of *Sirach* ſaith, *This I Will, and this I Command, and my Will ſhall ſtand for Reaſon.* This is the Voice of Proud Oppreſſors. They make their Luſts their Law, and their Will their Ruler. But Reaſon, the Candle of the Lord, and Scripture, the revealed Will of God, inform us, that Order, and Dominion, and Rule is, not to make us ſlaves, but that we may lead a quiet and peaceable Life in all godlineſs and honeſty.

3. We muſt conſider that there may be ſuch Crimes, as may forfeit the Crown and Throne, and reduce all to firſt Principles.

Here it will be convenient to conſider, 1. What Crimes we ſuppoſe make a Forfeiture. 2. To demonſtrate that ſuch Crimes forfeit the Crown.

1. I ſhall conſider what Crimes we ſuppoſe make a Forfeiture. And this may be done for more plain underſtanding, 1. Negatively. 2. Affirmatively.

1. Negatively. Perſonal Crimes do not forfeit a Crown. A bad Man, morally, may be a good King, Politically. Dominion is not founded in Grace: tho' it is much to be deſired, as being their bounden Duty, that Kings would live in the Fear of God. However (as a moſt zealous Divine on our ſide grants) There is required in Subjects a Toleration of the ſpots, blemiſhes, or infirmities of Magiſtrates. For the Magiſtrate hath a burthen no leſs laborious than dangerous, under which he muſt neceſſarily often faint, and endure Extremities: ſo that ſometimes he hath ſcarce place or time

to

to breath. And therefore it is no wonder, if he be ſometimes drawn away by Humane Affections, as Pride, Ambition, Intemperance, Pleaſure, Sloth, Forgetfulneſs, Security, Anger, Fury, and Paſſions of like kind. To which they are wont to be more obnoxious than others, as they are urged with greater Troubles and Aſſaults. Therefore then it is the Duty of Loyal Subjects patiently to bear thoſe Infirmities, as it is meet that Children ſhould hide the blemiſhes of their Parents. It is true, a Prince ought to be juſt, and judge as for God; but a wicked Prince, as *Ahab*, muſt have Obedience, and a good *Obadiah* may be his ſervant. An habitual ſinner, whom God will judge and condemn, may not be queſtioned by his Subjects. *David*'s Adultery and Murder of *Uriah* was not ſufficient to depoſe him. Such Crimes muſt be left to God's vengeance. And private Oppreſſions are not Cauſes ſufficient; but here Prayers and Tears muſt take place: and we muſt (as our Saviour adviſeth) in Patience poſſeſs our Souls.

2. Affirmatively. Such Crimes as are Epidemical, or Univerſal, and are of great concern to the whole Body Politick, to the whole Nation. As invalidating Laws made for Publick Security, endeavouring to ſubvert the Rights of the Subject, Liberty and Property; or ſubverting of the Religion by Law eſtabliſhed, whereby Thouſands of poor Innocents muſt be ruined; breach of Covenant, Oath, and Promiſe, whereby Publick Faith is indangered, and all Subjects with reaſon are made jealous. And here pray imagine me in *Utopia*, and take it for a ſuppoſition, If a Kingdom is in ſuch danger, whether they ought not to ſecure themſelves.

I could wiſh it had conſiſted with Gods Providence that I had not lived in ſuch unhappy days, wherein a man that ſpeaks truth is envied by his Neighbour: Or I could wiſh that I had not ſuch unlucky Stars, as that I muſt neceſſarily go againſt my Conſcience, if I ſhould juſtify or connive at the late Proceedings of the Court Faction, and Jeſuitical Society.

I was as true and faithful to the late King, notwithſtanding his Religion, as long as he kept his Oath and Promiſe, as any Subject in Reaſon, Knowledge, or Conſcience could be. But when I evidently perceived that the deſign was to Subject us to *Rome*, and Arbitrary power, my Heart grew cold, my Affection was loſt, and I could not, as an Engliſh man, nor a Chriſtian, nor a Prieſt, who ought to teach Truth, comply with ſuch wicked and miſchievous

deſigns.

deſigns. And I have ever ſince prayed (or wiſhed in my heart) that God would ſend us a Deliverer. He hath ſent us a Deliverer; And bleſſed be his holy Name. And this diſcourſe I may well call a *Juſtification* of their preſent ſacred Majeſties, and of the Proceedings of the Lords, and Commons, and all the People of the Land at this day. And I hope that every good man, who makes Conſcience of his ways, will not be backward to advance this publick deſign. All that hate Popery and Slavery, and have any love for true Religion, will ſtand to this cauſe. There is Loyalty to our Countrey: and an Heathen could ſay, It is ſweet and comely to die for our Countrey. And the true Proteſtant Religion by Law eſtabliſhed is of unexpreſſible value.

To this purpoſe conſider ſeriouſly, and without prejudice, the Diſtinction mentioned by Civilians, and applied almoſt to our caſe by a great Scholar.

There is a difference between diſpoſing of things by way of Donation and Sale, and diſpoſing things by way of Truſt. True, thoſe things which we diſpoſe of by way of Donation and Sale, are not afterwards in our power to recall, as they were before the Donation and Sale. As if a man gives his Land to Children, or ſells Land to his Neighbour, it is not in the power of the Father, or Neighbour to recall or diſpoſe of the Land, as before the Donation or Sale. But if a thing be diſpoſed of by way of Truſt, then if the Fiduciary or Truſted ſhall not diſcharge his Truſt, it is in the power at leaſt of the Truſting to look to the matter himſelf. As in caſe a Steward be truſted with a mans houſe. And thus when any Governour is ſet up in a Land by the People, they truſt the Governour, they do not give away Liberty or Right, but truſt them in the hands of the Governour; who, if abuſed, that he do not perform his ſtewardly Truſt as he ſhould, the People or Repreſentative Body, as an act of ſelf-preſervation (I do not ſay as an act of Juriſdiction) are to look to it. Neither do they herein ſo reaſſume their Power, as to take away any thing which they gave to the King, but ſo as to act that power which they always had left in themſelves, (as the power of ſelf-preſervation.) (By the way obſerve, I do not believe that the People have power of Juriſdiction; for that properly connotates an Office, which the People have not: but they can never give away power to preſerve themſelves; and they have power virtually to elect an Officer, to rule

and

and exerciſe all Juriſdiction.) And the end of the King's Truſt being to look to the Kingdom, tho' there be no ſuch words expreſſed in the Covenant or Agreement between the King and his People, that in caſe he ſhall not diſcharge his Truſt, then it ſhall be lawful for the State of the Kingdom by Arms to reſiſt, and to look to their own ſafety; yet their ſafety being the end of this Truſt, and the reaſon of the Law is Law, in reaſon that muſt be implied.

As for *Nebuchadnezzar*, his impious Pride and Oppreſſion, and perhaps conſequently the Magicians hatred and oppoſing of him, brought him into a deep Melancholy and Diſtraction, and ſo he was Abdicate. And from this Example very Learned Divines and States-men infer the lawfulneſs of Abdicating a Prince for ſuch Male-adminiſtration. And I ſhall prove it thus.

What the wiſeſt and beſt men in all Ages and Kingdoms have done by the Light of Nature, and have been commended for it, that is lawful and agreeable to the Will of God.

But the wiſeſt and beſt men in all Ages and Kingdoms have depoſed Kings by the Light of Nature, and have been commended for it: Therefore it is lawful and agreeable to the Will of God.

I ſuppoſe none will deny the *Major*, becauſe the Law of Nature is the unwritten Law of God, and acknowledged by all Divines to be the moſt certain Rule of Life.

It is the *Minor* that I muſt eſtabliſh, which is, The wiſeſt and beſt men in all Ages and Kingdoms have depoſed Kings by the Light of Nature, and have been commended for it.

I need not here mention the Feats of *Semiramis*, related by the Hiſtorian *Juſtin*, and (as he ſaith) admired by all wiſe men of *Babylon*, and honoured for her Prudence in Government, and Valour, (not two hundred years after *Noah*'s Flood.) Neither ſhall I ſpeak of *Sardanapalus*, King of *Aſſyria*, mentioned by the ſame *Juſtin*, an effeminate Prince, depoſed by *Arbactus*, Preſident over *Media*, and his Aſſociates, for ill Government. I will alſo omit the Monarchy of the *Medes* and *Perſians*; in which ye will find that *Darius* was choſen by the neighing of his Horſe; and that the beſt Kings among them, and their Poſterity, were not eſteemed ſo ſacred, but for Miſ-rule they might be depoſed.

In the *Grecian* Monarchy, which was the next, all the World knows what ſtrange changes happened. After the death of *Alexander* the Great, the Empire was divided according to Tumult, or Prudence,

Prudence, and ſeveral Dukes or Captains obeyed. And this was divided into the Kingdoms of *Egypt*, *Syria*, and *Macedonia*. All which by all wiſe and conſcientious men of thoſe days were required to obey their ſeveral Governors.

The next Monarchy was the *Roman*. And as to the *Roman*, it is evident by the Hiſtorian *Livy*, &c. that *Tarquinius Superbus* was juſtly depoſed. And all that oppoſed him were accounted Patriots and Defenders of their Countrey; good men and true, that would not ſee common Juſtice excluded, and their native Countrey inſlaved. *Brutus* (ſaith *Livy*, *b.2. decad. 1.*) deſerved glory for expelling King (*Tarquinius*) *Superbus*. They expelled wicked Rulers and Tyrants, eſpecially *Nero*: and are commended in all Authors for it. When the Head of *Maximinus* (that tyrannical Emperor) with his Sons were brought to *Rome*, all ran to the Altars to thank the Gods. And *Balbinus* Sacrificed *Hecatombs* for his deliverance, commanding the ſame to be done through the Empire. I do not hereby intend to juſtify all circumſtances, or all perſons, or all their actions: But I bring theſe Inſtances to ſhew, That by the Light of nature Government is alterable, and that a Supream Prince may be depoſed.

And Dr. *Bilſon*, Warden of *Wincheſter* confeſſeth, (in his book intituled, The true difference between Chriſtian Subjection and Unchriſtian Rebellion, peruſed and allowed by publick Authority, and dedicated to Queen *Elizabeth*) There may fall Extremities, when Princes are not able to guide themſelves much leſs their Realms. (*P. 3. p. 145.*) As if the right Heir to any Crown be a Natural fool, or he that is inveſted in the Crown wax mad, and runs beſide himſelf: In either of theſe two caſes any Realm by publick conſent and advice may chuſe another. As *Childerick* was depoſed for a Fool, (and *Pipin* elected.) And *Charles* the third, the laſt Emperor of *Pipins* Line, was depoſed by the ſame people for a Bedlam. As alſo when *Juſtinus* the younger was diſtracted of his wits, *Tiberius* was placed in the Empire. So he.

And if Governours may be depoſed, and the Succeſſion altered for natural defects, and calamities, then much more for Moral defects, ſuch as univerſal Oppreſſion and Tyranny over their Subjects. Becauſe the other might be helped by Protectors and Guardians: but this neither will nor can. Again, *p. 179.* If any Prince were repreſſed, (ſince the Foundation of the Earth for five thouſand years) it was done by their own States and Realms.

and that for their Extream Tyranny. Prieſts always refrained thoſe attempts, and never thought it any part of their vocation, to meddle with the changes and alterations of Kingdoms, (as *Gregory* the ſeventh, called Pope *Hildebrand*, did.)

Now to return to *Nebuchadnezzar*, that which happened (ſaith a learned Divine) to the furious King in his madneſs by the decree of God, why may not, ought not that be done to other Impious Kings alſo? *Calvin* indeed ſpeaks dubiouſly, in his Commentary on *Dan.* 4. It is uncertain, whether he was caſt out by Tumult, and the Conſpiracy of the Nobles, or alſo by the conſent of the whole people. This is doubtful, becauſe the Hiſtories of that time are unknown to us. While *Calvin* thus doubts, he denies not in the mean time, that the furious King was removed by publick Authority. The Text is expreſs, They ſhall drive thee from men, *v.* 32. And verily by force of Gods Decree & Command. Therefore other impious Kings, taken with like fury, may fear the ſame puniſhment. Like Oppreſſion at any time will juſtify like defence & proceedings.

The famous Doctor of the Church, *Oecolampadius*, judgeth right, whoſe words are theſe in his Commentary; Obſerve the equity of the Judge, that the Lord meaſures to us with the ſame meaſure that we meaſure to others. He was much exalted, and much humbled: he received many gifts from God, many are taken away: he baniſhed many, and he alſo is driven from men: he had delicious meats, now he feeds with beaſts: he was clothed with purple, now he is wholly covered with frightful hair: he was anointed with balm and precious Ointments, now he is wet with ſhowers and the dew of Heaven.

And here I ſhall ſum up the whole in principles according to the uſe of Mathematicians in *Poſtulata*, Definitions, and Axioms. Such things (ſaith the renowned *Hooker*, *Eccl. Pol. b.* 1. *par.* 8) As ſoon as they are alledged, all men acknowledge to be good. As, God is to be worſhiped: Parents are to be honoured. The main Principles of reaſon are in themſelves apparent. For to make nothing evident of it ſelf to mans underſtanding, were to make away all poſſibility of knowing any thing. And herein that of *Theophraſtus* is true, They that ſeek a reaſon of all things, do utterly overthrow it. In every kind of knowledge ſome ſuch grounds there are as that being propoſed, the mind doth preſently imbrace them as free from all poſſibility of error, clear and manifeſt without proof.

Poſtulatum 1. Every creature by the inſtinct of nature preſerves it-ſelf, and promotes its well being. For, as the Philoſopher ſaith, all deſire Good, and Happineſs naturally is to be ſought.

2. No

2. No Poſitive law ought to, or can invalidate, or deſtroy the Law of nature, which is the higheſt reaſon in man. Becauſe poſitive Laws are to better the condition of mankind, not to make it worſe.

3. The primary right of nature ſo called cannot be changed, becauſe it is written in the heart of man, as S. *Paul* teſtifies. Hence it cannot be blotted out, unleſs nature be blotted out, and reaſon ceaſe to be reaſon. See the former diſcourſe.

4. The great End of Government is the ſecurity of the Community. Were the People firſt, or the King firſt? Surely there were People to be governed, before there were Governours. Did Kings deſcend from Heaven, and were they immediately appointed by God, or mediately by the Election of the People? Surely the Fathers of Families and Elders of the People choſe one to be their Head and Governour. Did they chuſe him to make themſelves in a better condition, or in a worſe? Surely that they might live better, and more ſecure; that no one Perſon or Family might wrong another, becauſe they were ſtronger. The Law of Nature tells us, it is not neceſſary (as one ſaith in another caſe) That they that give, ſhould always formally have beforehand received that Power which they give: it is enough if they have received it virtually. For inſtance, a multitude of free People may Elect and Ordain a King over them, and yet none of them had beforehand received Kingly Power: It is enough they have a Virtual Power, to ſet up, and to ſubmit to any Lawful Form of Government, which they ſee good for themſelves in the Land.

5. Defend thy ſelf againſt Force is the firſt Principle of true Politicks. There can be no Time, Age, Perſon, wherein this is not true, according to the former *Poſtulata*. Hence are drawn theſe Concluſions, mentioned in my former Diſcourſe,

1. No man ought to hurt us, when we are innocent.

2. If any man endeavours to hurt us, when we are innocent, we may defend our ſelves.

3. Neither God, nor Man gives Authority to Governours to hurt the Innocent.

4. If Governours hurt the Innocent, they may defend themſelves. All this preſuppoſeth my former Diſcourſe, to which I refer the Reader.

The general and perpetual Voice of men (ſaith *Hooker*) is as the Sentence of God himſelf. For that which all men have at all times learned, Nature her ſelf muſt needs have taught: and God being the Author of Nature, her Voice is but his Inſtrument. By her from him we receive

whatsoever in such sort we learn. Infinite duties there are, the good whereof is by this Rule sufficiently manifest, tho' we had no other warrant besides to approve them. The Apostle *Paul* having speech concerning the Heathens, saith of them, *They are a Law to themselves*, *Rom.* 2. 14. His meaning is, that by force of the Light of Reason, wherewith God illuminates every one that comes into the world, men being enabled to know truth from falshood, and good from evil, do thereby learn in many things what the Will of God is. Which Will himself not revealing by any extraordinary means to them, but they by natural discourse attaining the knowledge thereof, seem the makers of those Laws which indeed are his, and they but only the finders of them our.

I now proceed to Definitions.

1. Defence is the preserving the Innocent from wrong.

2. Tyranny is the wilful Oppression of the Innocent, against Law, or Conscience. Yet there is Tyranny in the Legislative Power, when Princes, and men in Authority make wicked and unjust Laws: and here submission is due, or Passive Obedience so called. Thus *Daniel*, and his Companions could not Actively obey *Nebuchadnezzar*, (because we must obey God rather than Man) but they humbly submitted to the King's pleasure, and cruel Edict. Thus the Primitive Christians chearfully laid down their Lives for the Name of Jesus, and resisted not; because the Laws of the Heathen *Roman* Empire, as those of the *Chaldeans* before, were against them. This is called Abuse of Power in Kings and Governours. And in this case Prayers and Tears are the Weapons of Christians, and all upright men, or flying from Persecution. But *where there is no Law, there is no transgression*, *Rom.* 4. 15. This is an universal Proposition mentioned by *Paul*. If I defend my self against the Illegal Will, or Lust of a Governour, who hath received no such Authority from God, nor Man, it is neither transgression, nor resisting of the Power.

Defin. 3. Obedience is a willing and hearty performance of the Commands of our Governours according to Law.

Defin. 4. Law, the Rule of Obedience, is a Sentence proceeding from the right Reason of the Commander. And therefore no man must yield Active Obedience to Laws against the Law of Nature, or against the written Law of God. I go on to Axioms.

1. The whole is to be preferred before any one part, and the greater good before the less. Therefore self-preservation is before the preservation of another; because Charity begins at home. And the whole Kingdom is to be preferred before the King himself, when he, who is the principal

principal part, ſtands in oppoſition to the good of the whole.

Axiom 2. All natural good may be deſired; and all natural evil may be avoided. And here comes in the Rule of Juſtice, and firſt Principle, mentioned by our Saviour, *Mat.* 7. 12. *All things whatſoever ye would that men ſhould do to you, do you even ſo to them: for this is the Law and the Prophets.* And what you will not have done to you, do not you do to another. This is a clear and undeleble Principle; a firſt and Alphabetical Notion, as one ſpeaks. Therefore I may preſerve my Liberty and Property; and oppoſe thoſe that would by violence and illegal proceedings invade them. And here I ſhall offer four or five more *Poſtulata.*

1. Our Saviour did not countenance Oppreſſion, nor taught no Doctrine in favour thereof.

2. Nothing in Chriſtian Religion contradicts natural Religion. The reaſon is, both are from God. So that if Natural Religion allows Defence, then Chriſtian Religion forbids it not. As for Myſteries of Faith, they are ſaid to be above, but not againſt Reaſon.

3. Our Saviour never deſigned to ſet down a Form of Government and Polity; but taught Obedience to Lawful Authority. *Render to* Cæſar *the things that are* Cæſar's. Polity was before the Law of *Moſes*, or the Law of Chriſt. The Law of *Moſes* commanded Moral, and Ceremonial performances. And as for Judicial Laws, they bind us only as to the Equity, as all acknowledge. And the Law of Chriſt compleats, fulfils, or advances the Moral Law indeed; and withal, adds ſome Myſteries of Faith to be believed of all Chriſtians. But Chriſt, and his Apoſtles leave Political Government as they found them in the world.

The Goſpel (ſay *Theol. Wit.*) is a Doctrine of a Spiritual and Eternal Kingdom in the hearts of men; neither doth it externally overthrow Political Regiment, but rather eſtabliſh and confirm it. Therefore it follows that the Goſpel permits all Natural and Legal Defence, agreeing with the Civil Laws. The Goſpel takes not away Polity, or Political Laws.

4. No People could be ſo ſottiſh as to ſet Governours over them to undo them: For ſafety, happineſs, or well-being, is the End of Government. It is a ſelf-evident Principle, No man is bound to think well, or ſpeak well, or do well to his Oppreſſors, but may throw off their Yoke, as ſoon as he can. And ſo may a whole Kingdom likewiſe.

Again, This is another ſelf-evident Principle, and needs no proof, Truſt not him with thy Life, Goods, and Poſterity, who hath once endeavoured to ruin thee. I am confident few men would lend ſuch a man Ten pounds upon his word. A man cannot make any doubt of it, but that it is moſt agreeable

agreeable to reaſon, and the common Intereſt of thoſe in Society, that they ſhould be true to their Compacts. Out of what Author (as an ingenious Scholar queſtions) can they ſhew us a Nation that ever did allow the breach of ſolemn Compacts? The loweſt inanimate beings have a power and propenſity to their own welfare; a blind tendency and inclination to their own Security. And ſuch a noble being as man is, muſt needs have it in a more ſublime and eminent manner. A noble Author of our own tells us, in his Book of Truth, That he for his part takes them for the Catholick Church that are conſtant and faithful to firſt Principles; that common Notions are the bottom and foundation upon which the Church is built. Excuſe our diffidence here, great Sir, The Church is built upon a ſurer and higher Rock; upon a more Adamantine and precious Foundation; yet thus much is acceptable and undeniable, That whoever they are that by any Practice, or Cuſtom, or Tradition, or Tener, ſhall ſtop the paſſage of firſt Principles, and ſound Reaſon that flows from them, they are in this farther from the Church than *Indians* or *Americans*, while they are not only Antichriſtian, but Unnatural.

5. If any ſhould conſent to ſuch unreaſonable Conditions, their Poſterity could not be bound by their miſtakes. The Precepts of the Law of Nature are ſo potent and triumphant (as he ſpeaks) as that ſome Acts which rebel againſt it, become not only unlawful, but void, as both Schoolmen and Lawyers obſerve: they are not only Irregularities, but meer Nullities. Becauſe man wants power to make ſuch Laws. God gives no man Authority to contradict the Law of Nature, which is his own Law, and Commands nothing but what is reaſonable; ſo that what contradicts this, muſt be unreaſonable. He that lays violent hands upon himſelf for wickedneſs committed, tho' commanded by the Magiſtrate, (ſaith *Wendelin. Philoſ. Mor.* b. 1. c. 28.) wrongs himſelf by executing that Command: becauſe the Command of ſuch a Magiſtrate is unjuſt, and againſt Natural & Divine right: therefore Obedience performed to it muſt be unjuſt.

And verily if a Kingdom may not defend it ſelf by Force of Arms, when grievouſly oppreſſed, then this Abſurdity will follow, that we, our Liberties, Wives, Children, and Religion may be deſtroyed, when Tyrants and evil Rulers pleaſe. And all the Remedy is, *Lord have mercy upon us, and our Children.* But ſurely this is againſt common Senſe and Reaſon: (as I have ſhewed) and God, and Nature hath not placed Mankind in ſuch circumſtances. If this be ſo, then we are in worſe caſe than the Heathens, and all other Humane Commonwealths: (as an Enemy of ours ſaith) which both before, and after Chriſt, have had means to deliver themſelves from

ſuch

ſuch Tyrants as were intolerable, and evidently pernicious to Humane Society, and the good of the People: for whoſe peace and preſervation they were created by Men, or ordained by God. This wicked Doctrine may put us into the hands of men as cruel as the *Iriſh* were in 41. At which time King *Charles* I. ſaid, Thoſe barbarous Rebels practiſed ſuch inhumane and unheard of outrages upon his miſerable People, that no Chriſtian Ear can hear witthout horrour, nor Story parallel.

Let us conclude with Application.

1. This teacheth us the vanity and uncertainty of all worldly things. Kingdoms themſelves are not ſo fixed, as not to be ſubject to change. God *changeth the times and ſeaſons*, (ſaith *Dan.* c. 2. v. 21.) *he removeth Kings, and ſets up Kings.* God hath rejected many Kings for their wickedneſs. He rejected *Saul*, and took his Kingdom from him. *The moſt High ruleth in the Kingdoms of men, and giveth it to whomſoever he will*, c. 4. v. 25. God hath an hand in all theſe changes. His Providence ruleth over all. Of this no Chriſtian doubts. And this ſome call (how properly I need not diſpute) a Providential Right, which is by God's Permiſſion. Traitors and Uſurpers have this Right to the Thrones that they poſſeſs. This Right (as one ſaith) a Slave (through God's juſt Judgment on a Nation) may have to the Throne: for not a Sparrow falls to the ground without God's Permiſſion. This Right both lawful Kings and Uſurpers have to the Thrones they poſſeſs. *Athaliah*, that Murderer of the Royal Family, had only this Providential Right, which ſhe made appear only by Poſſeſſion. But this Right (being neither by Succeſſion, nor Conqueſt, nor Compact, nor lawful Call of the People) gives not juſt Title, nor can expect any Subjection meerly upon that, and no other right. And the Reaſon is, becauſe when Providential Right croſſeth Civil Right, a man is not bound to follow Providence, but to guide himſelf by Moral and Divine Precepts. For Divine Precepts are perpetual ſtanding Laws, by which the Actions of men ought to be guided. But Providential Acts were never ordained for Laws or Rules by which men ſhould walk: and therefore to ſuch a Right there is no Subjection due.

2. It teacheth us the heinous nature, and ill conſequent of Pride. It is enough to ruin a whole Nation; the King as well as his Subjects. A proud Man is not under God's Protection, but forſaken of Him.

3. It teacheth the great Miſchief of Tyranny and Oppreſſion. God and Man hate Oppreſſors, who obſtinately refuſe good and reaſonable Advice. Any Biſhop or Teacher (ſaith Dr. *Bilſon*, P. 3. *pag.* 1.) may reprove Princes, when they violate the Precepts of God. For God hath placed them in

his

his Church to teach, reprove, correct, and instruct in righteousness; 2 *Tim.* 3. 16. as well Princes as others, and chargeth them not to conceal one word of that he hath spoken, neither for favour, nor terrour of any Prince. The Will of God must be declared to all, and Sin reproved in all without dissembling, or flattering any sort, or state of men. And that is most expedient for all, even for Princes themselves, rather to hear with Humility what God hath decreed for their Salvation, than to run to their own destruction without recalling or warning. So *Samuel* reproved King *Saul*, 1 Sam. 15. *Abijah* King *Jeroboam*, 1 Kings 14. *Elijah* King *Ahab*, 1 Kings 21. *Elisha* King *Jehoram*, 2 Kings 3. *John Baptist* King *Herod*, Mar. 6. Neither were wicked Princes only, but also the good and virtuous Kings of *Judah* reproved by the Prophets. As namely, King *David* by *Nathan*, 2 Sam. 12. King *Jehosaphat* by *Jehu*, 2 Chro. 19. And *Hezekiah* by the Prophet *Isaiah*, 2 Kings 20. But this reproof reached no farther than to putting them in mind of God's Grace and Mercy towards them, and their Duty again towards him, *&c.*

4. It teacheth Kings to rule justly: for otherwise their wickedness will find them out. If instead of saving the lives of their Subjects, they endeavour to destroy them, if instead of punishing the wicked, they punish the good and God's Servants; if instead of reasonable and lawful Commands, they will have their Lusts their Wills, and strive to ruin the People committed to their charge without Law: or with cruelty, rigour, and severity without mercy, rage against their Subjects, they may well expect Divine vengeance and the Judgments of God, either immediately, or by the hand of their own Subjects, who have been threatned, or cruelly used, and unmercifully or illegally dealt with. God hates Oppression in all, even in Princes: especially the Persecution of his Servants for his true worship, and renouncing Idolatry. Kings must give Account to God, as well as meaner Men: for there is no respect of persons with him. God is the Judge, and he putteth down one, and setteth up another, as he pleaseth. To him be Glory and Dominion for ever. *Amen.*

FINIS.